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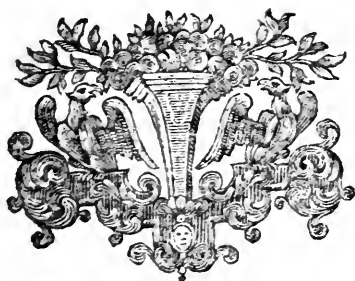
KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

THE
Grand Accuser

The Greatest of all

CRIMINALS.

Part I.



L O N D O N :

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THE
GRAND ACCUSER
The Greatest of all
CRIMINALS.



HAVING lately passed some Weeks at a Friend's House in the Country, I found among his Books a Sett of *Examiners* in three small Volumes, from *August 3, 1710,* to *May 11, 1713.* Remembring full well the Noise those Papers made in the World when they came out Weekly, and being much at Leisure, I resolv'd to read them meerly for Amusement, which was all I at first propos'd by it, the Subjects on which they chiefly turn'd being in a Manner become obsolete, and having given Way by Time and the Vicissitude of publick Affairs to other Topicks of Conversation. But in perusing them, what I propos'd for Amusement gave me great Disgust, and rais'd a perfect Horror in me. I found great Ability in Writing employ'd with the utmost Artifice to the most wicked and pernicious Purposes: And this naturally leading me to reflect upon the *Craftsman's* Way of Writing, which perfectly resembles that of the *Examiner*, I was the more shocked and alarmed, and am entirely convinc'd, that as this Writer takes the like Methods, he must not only have the same Ends in View,

but is the very same Person ; and that the Design of both Papers, however disguised, is at the Bottom really and truly the Cause of the Pretender. It was with this View the two great Ministers in the late Queen's Reign, were to be removed and rendered odious to the People, notwithstanding the Fidelity and Zeal and wonderful Success with which they had served Her and their Country ; and 'tis with the like View the same Artifices of Calumny and Defamation are used now, to blacken the honourable Person who is in the present Ministry : 'Tis plainly to serve the Pretender, whose Cause must still languish, if this Minister cannot be removed.

The Conviction that rests upon my own Mind of this being the Design both of the *Examiner* and *Craftsman*, has determined me to lay before the Reader the Reasons and Grounds of this my Opinion ; and I am persuaded, that upon Perusal of the following Extracts, all Persons well affected to the present happy Establishment will agree with me. To this End the Reader will excuse me if I take Matters a little higher than the Time of the *Examiner*, and go back to the Revolution to set some Things in a fuller and clearer Light.

PRINCE George of Denmark, who had accompanied King James the Second to Salisbury, forsook him while he was upon his Return from thence to Whitehall. At the same Time his Consort (the late Queen Anne) withdrew from Court, and was met by her Husband at Oxford with a Detachment of the Prince of Orange's Guards. That Princess's Desertion of her Father, and taking Part with the Prince of Orange, was doing all that then lay in her Power to facilitate the Revolution. Her Interest was considered, as fairly as it could be, when the Crown was settled on King William and
Queen

Queen Mary. By Virtue of which Settlement, upon the Death of her Sister she was looked upon as immediate Successor to King *William*, and her Son the Duke of *Gloucester* was deemed and treated by that King himself as the next Heir after Her to the Crown : And there can be no Doubt that had that Son lived, she would have entertained no other Thought or Design than that of transmitting the Crown to him on her Decease.

He died in 1700 : Bishop *Fleetwood's* Reflections upon it in the famous Preface to his four Sermons published in 1712, are very just. ‘ The Loss of that most promising and hopeful Prince, was (I saw at that Time it happened) unspeakably great ; and many Accidents since have convinced us, that it could not have been over-valued. That precious Life, had it pleased God to have prolonged it to the usual Space, had saved us many Fears and Jealousies, and dark Distrusts, and prevented many Alarms that have long kept us, and will keep us still waking and uneasy. ’

By the Act of Settlement at the Revolution, the Succession to the Crown was limited to the Heirs of the Body of *Queen Mary* ; which failing, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body ; which also failing, to the Heirs of the Body of King *William* ; and all Papists were excluded from the Succession. But of the four Lives which at the Time of that Settlement were in View, the two that were most depended on, *Queen Mary* and the Duke of *Gloucester*, had been carried off unexpectedly, and of the two that still remained (the Princess of *Denmark* and King *William*) there was no Issue, and little Hopes of any by either of them. It became absolutely necessary therefore, in the Opinion of our Glorious Deliverer, and the Parliament readily came into the same Opinion, to declare explicitly by *An Act for the further Limitation*

of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, that from and after the Deceases of King *William* and the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of their respective Bodies, the Crown should be, remain, and continue to the Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants.

This Act was passed in 1701, in which Year King *James II* dying, the King of *France* did immediately take upon him to acknowledge and declare the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be King of *Great Britain*; which gave Occasion to two more Acts for corroborating the former touching the Succession.

In *March* 1701-2 died King *William*. Queen *Anne* succeeded him by Virtue of the Acts above-mentioned. She immediately entred into the Views of that King in forming the Grand Alliance (signed in *September* 1701,) declared War against *France* on the 4th of *May* 1702, and in that Declaration, after mentioning the Grand Alliance and the Motives upon which it was formed, Her Majesty adds, as a further just Cause for War; ‘ the Affront and Indignity offered to Her and Her Kingdoms by the *French* King, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of *Wales*, King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and influencing *Spain* to concur in the same Affront and Indignity.’ Her Majesty was pleased to put the Duke of *Marlborough* at the Head of her Army, and Lord *Godolphin* at the Head of the Treasury; and these two were the chief Ministers in the Direction of all her Affairs both at Home and Abroad, and, with the Dutches of *Marlborough*, had her entire Confidence; till they were undermined in the Manner as will be related.

In 1704, Mr. *St. John* was made Secretary at War;

War; and soon after Mr. *Harley* was made Secretary of State. In 1707, it appeared (says Bishop *Burnet* in the Second Volume of the History of his own Times,) ‘ That Mr. *Harley* had gained great Credit with the Queen by Means of one of the Bed-Chamber Women, who having learnt the Arts of a Court, observed the Queen’s Temper with so much Application, that she got far into her Heart; and she employed all her Credit to establish *Harley* in the supreme Confidence with the Queen. It was said that, by the great Power the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treasurer had drawn into their Hands, all depended on them: That the Queen was only a Cypher in the Government, that she was in the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*’s Hands, as her Affairs were in the Duke of *Marlborough*’s: It was likewise talked among those who made their Court to the new Favourites, that there was not a Jacobite now in the Nation, that all were for the Queen, and that without doubt she would reign out peaceably her own Life; but she needed not concern herself for a *German* Family.’ The Bishop says in another Place, ‘ Many of those who made a considerable Figure about her, studied, though against all Sense and Reason, to distinguish her Title from the Revolution: It was plainly founded on it, and on nothing else.

The same Bishop speaking of the Transactions of the Year 1708. says, ‘ The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord Treasurer having discover’d many of *Harley*’s Practices, laid them before the Queen; she would believe nothing that was suggested to his Prejudice; nor would she enter into any Examination of his ill Conduct, and was uneasy when she heard it spoke of. So these Lords wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, if he was continued in that Post:

‘ And

‘ And on the *Sunday* following, when they were sum-
 ‘ moned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to
 ‘ the Queen, and told her, they must quit her
 ‘ Service, since they saw she was resolved not to
 ‘ part with *Harley*. She seemed not much con-
 ‘ cerned at the Lord *Godolphin*’s offering to lay
 ‘ down; but she was much touched with the Duke
 ‘ of *Marlborough*’s offering to quit; and studied,
 ‘ with some soft Expressions, to divert him from
 ‘ that Resolution; but he was firm, and she did
 ‘ not yield to them: So they both went away, to
 ‘ the Wonder of the whole Court. Immediately
 ‘ after the Queen went to the Cabinet Council, and
 ‘ *Harley* opened some Matters relating to foreign
 ‘ Affairs. The whole Board was very uneasy: The
 ‘ Duke of *Somerſet* said, he did not see how they
 ‘ could deliberate on such Matters, since the Gene-
 ‘ ral was not with them. He repeated this with
 ‘ some Vehemence, while all the rest looked so
 ‘ cold and fullen, that the Cabinet Council was
 ‘ soon at an End; and the Queen saw that the
 ‘ rest of her Ministers, and the chief Officers, were
 ‘ resolved to withdraw from her Service, if she
 ‘ did not recall the two that had left it. It was
 ‘ said, that she would have put all to the Hazard,
 ‘ if *Harley* himself had not apprehended his Dan-
 ‘ ger, and resolved to lay down. The Queen sent
 ‘ the next Day for the Duke of *Marlborough*; and
 ‘ after some Expostulation, she told him, *Harley*
 ‘ should immediately leave his Post; which he did
 ‘ within two Days. But the Queen seemed to car-
 ‘ ry a deep Resentment of his and the Lord *Go-*
 ‘ *dolphin*’s Behaviour on this Occasion; and tho’
 ‘ they went on with her Business, they found they
 ‘ had not her Confidence.’

When Mr. *Harley* laid down, Mr. *St. John* went
 and laid down with him. But it was in a full Per-
 suasion, that the Queen would restore them the
 first

first fair Opportunity ; and such soon happen'd. Prince *George of Denmark* died in *October* 1708. He was an honest good-temper'd Man, loved our Nation, and his Consort ; and she was so eminently an affectionate Wife, that the being deprived of her bosom Friend and Companion, render'd her the more liable and apt to be practis'd upon by ill-designing Flatterers. And the next Year followed the Affair of *Sacheverel* ; than which nothing could have fallen out more fortunately for them. His Tryal (in *February* 1709-10.) says Bishop *Burnet*, ' produced Addresses from all Parts of the Nation ; wherein the absolute Power of our Princes was asserted, and all Resistance was condemned, under the Designation of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles : The Queen's hereditary Right was acknowledged, and yet a Zeal for the Protestant Succession was likewise pretended, to make those Addresses pass the more easily with unthinking Multitudes: Most of them concluded with an Intimation of their Hopes, that the Queen would dissolve that Parliament ; giving Assurances, that in a new Election they would chuse none but such as should be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church.'

During this Winter (says Bishop *Burnet*) ' I was encouraged by the Queen to speak more freely to her of her Affairs, than I had ever ventured to do formerly. I told her what Reports were secretly spread of her through the Nation, as if she favoured the Design of bringing the Pretender to succeed to the Crown, upon a Bargain that she should hold it during her Life. I was sure these Reports were spread by Persons who were in the Confidence of those that were believed to know her Mind. I said, if she was capable of making such a Bargain for herself, by which her People were to be delivered up, and

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' sacrificed

‘ sacrificed after her Death ; as it would darken
 ‘ all the Glory of her Reign, so it must set all her
 ‘ People to consider of the most proper Ways of
 ‘ securing themselves by bringing over the Pro-
 ‘ testant Successors ; in which, I told her plainly,
 ‘ I would concur, if she did not take effectual
 ‘ Means to extinguish those Jealousies. I told her,
 ‘ her Ministers had served her with that Fidelity,
 ‘ and such Success, that her making a Change
 ‘ among them would amaze all the World. The
 ‘ Glory of *Queen Elizabeth’s* Reign arose from the
 ‘ Firmness of her Counsels, and the Continuance of
 ‘ her Ministers ; as the three last Reigns, in which
 ‘ the Ministry was often changed, had suffered ex-
 ‘ tremely by it. This, with a great deal more to
 ‘ the same Purpose, I laid before the Queen. She
 ‘ heard me patiently ; she was for the most Part
 ‘ silent ; yet, by what she said, she seemed desirous
 ‘ to make me think she agreed to what I laid be-
 ‘ fore her : But I found afterwards it had no Effect
 ‘ upon her.

The Queen’s Intentions to make a Change in her
 Ministry, began to break out in *June 1710.* when
 she dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland* from being Se-
 cretary of State, and gave the Seals to the Lord
Dartmouth.

Two Months after that Change, Mr. *Harley* was
 put at the Head of the Commission of the Trea-
 sury, and Mr. *St. John* had the Seals of Secretary of
 State given him in *October.*

Mr. *St. John* being brought again into Play, let
 us see how he behaved in his new Employment,
 which set him in the Rank of Minister, and gave
 him as frequent Admission to the Queen as he
 could wish. And here we shall find him very busy
 in acting the Part, I do not say that most became
 him in his high Office, but that he is most fit for,
 that of a Writer, and Director of other Writers.

That

That he was the Author of *the Conduct of the Allies*, and of *the Remarks on the Barrier Treaty*, was allowed on all Hands. But I will style him only the Director of the *Examiner*, though others thought he himself had the chief Hand in it; and I am so far of their Opinion as to own sincerely, that I do not think any Man equal to him in that Way of Writing; and I am persuaded he glories now in nothing more than in being universally deemed the chief Writer and Director of the *Craftsman*; a Composition made up of the same Ingredients as the *Examiner*, but apply'd differently, as may best suit the Case and Occasion.

If we could doubt of his being thoroughly engaged in 1707 to undermine and supplant the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Gedolphin*, his Conduct from the Moment he return'd to Court, will demonstrate it. The *Examiner*, which was set up in *August* 1710, had gone but a little Way, when this Gentleman himself (as was then generally reported and believed) wrote him a Letter of Compliment, and also of Advice what Particulars to write upon: From which Letter, I shall at this Time extract only such Passages as have the nearest Relation to those Subjects that come into this first Part of my Collection. The Preface to the first Volume of *Examiners* says of it, *That it was a Piece universally allowed to be written with much Spirit and Judgment, and perfect Knowledge of Affairs; and he hoped the Reader would be of Opinion, that the Instructions given in it were very fully pursued.*

*Extract of the Letter to the *Examiner*.

Allow that the French have recover'd Heart, that they rise in their Demands; What the Conferences at Gertruydenberg were broke off by them, whilst our Plenipotentiaries did all that possibly could be done to
B 2
obtain

obtain a safe and honourable Peace ; allow, I say, all this ; not because it is true, for the contrary shall one Time or other be made out to the World, when the true State of our present Condition will be set in a clear Light. — To restore the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria ; who, by their own Supineness, and by the Perfidy of the French, had lost it ; and to regain the Barrier for Holland, which lay naked and open to the Insults of France, were the wise and generous Motives [he slips over the French King's publicly owning and treating the Pretender as King of Great Britain, which the Queen had in her Declaration made another principal Motive of the War,] which engaged Britain in the present War. — In the Year 1706 the last of these two Motives was effectually answered by the Reduction of the Netherlands ; or might have been so by the Concessions, which 'tis notorious that the Enemy offered. — Let us now survey the present State of our domestic Affairs. By an Excess of Goodness the Queen delighted to raise some of her Servants to the highest Degrees of Riches, of Power, and of Honour ; and in this only Instance can be said to have grieved any of her Subjects. — The Rule which she had prescribed to these Persons, as the Measure of their Conduct, was soon departed from. But so unable were they to associate with Men of honest Principles than themselves, that the Sovereign Authority was parcelled out among a Faction, and made the Purchase of Indemnity for an offending Minister. Instead of the mild Influences of a gracious Queen governing by Law, we soon felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection to the Will of an arbitrary Junto, and to the Caprice of an insolent Woman. Unhappy Nation, which, expecting to be governed by the best, fell under the Tyranny of the worst of her Sex ! But now, Thanks be to God, that Fury, who broke loose to execute the Vengeance of Heaven on a sinful People, is restrained, and the Royal Hand is already reached out to chain up the Plague.

Invissum

Invifum numen terras cœlumque levabit.

One would expect, that on the first Appearance of the Queen's Displeasure, these little Tyrants should have had Recourse to Submission and Resignation. But they believed the whole Nation as debauched and corrupted as those profligate Wretches, who were in their Confidence; they imagined that under the Name of their Prince, they should be able to govern against her declared Intention; and having usurped the Royal Seat, resolved to venture over-turning the Chariot of Government, rather than to lose their Place in it. They set their Mistress at open Defiance, neither the Ties of Gratitude, nor the Bands of Allegiance, were any Restraint to them. — Their first Attempt was to take that Privilege from her, which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was to pursue her even in her Bed-Chamber. — Here the Nation in general took the Alarm; a Spirit of Loyalty began to rise, which the Faction foresaw would no longer bear to have the meanest Submission shewn to the Ministers, whilst common Decency was hardly used towards the Throne. The Conspirators resolved therefore to precipitate their Measures, and a Sermon was made the Pretence of their Clamour. — By long insipid Harangues, and fulsome Panegyricks, the Merits of the Ministers were exalted: The whole Success of the Administration, both at Home and Abroad, was singly attributed to them; and lest the Queen should think fit to declare them dangerous, she was by necessary Consequence from the Positions laid down, declared herself to be useless. — This Attempt had likewise an Effect, contrary to what the Projectors of it expected. The Ferment, instead of abating, encreased; the Bulk of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty of Britain, declared themselves loudly in the Cause of their Prince; and those Disorders which the Faction had raised for their Security, threatened their Destruction. — Not daunted yet, they resolve to try a new Expedient, and the In-
terest

terest of Europe is to be represented as inseparable from that of the Ministers. — The Members of the Bank, the Dutch, and the Court of Vienna, are called in as Confederates to the Ministry, and such an Indignity is offered to the Crown, as no Man, who has the Honour of his Country at Heart, can with Patience bear.

The *Examiner* did indeed very fully pursue the Plan laid down in this Letter of Advice; expatiated on the several Particulars in it, and added others, as the Cue was given him from Time to Time by his Director.

Were not the Publick now long used to the *Craftsman's* Way of Writing, none could easily imagine how the *Examiner* could be able to harangue upon the same Subjects Week after Week, Year after Year, with incessant Volubility, and repeat over and over the very same Assertions and Arguments, Invectives and Calumnies, varied into numberless Forms, with the Help of Allusions, Allegories and Parallels. If there be any Difference between the two Papers, it is perhaps that the *Examiner* assumes an Air of more Haughtiness and Insolence, and vents his Malice with less dissembled Rancour, and with coarser Scurrility: But that Difference is purely accidental; 'tis the *Examiner's* Nature, and he could not help it, he was in the full Swing of Power, to which the *Craftsman* is not yet arrived.

This Gentleman, call him *Examiner* or call him *Craftsman*, has for many Years of his Life set himself up for an *Accuser* and *Demolisher* of Ministries and Ministers; he has certainly very great Abilities for declaiming, and though he could entertain Men of Virtue and of true Taste perfectly well, if he proposed to write to such, yet, sacrificing his Conscience to his Politicks, he looks
round

round him, computes what Sort of Readers are most numerous, most disposed to receive his Lectures with Applause, and to believe (or pretend to believe) and propagate his Assertions, without waiting for Proofs : And then he charges boldly those Ministers whose Destruction he seeks, with enormous Crimes against their Country, in the most outrageous and violent Terms, adapted to the Taste of the Vulgar, the more to incite their Passions ; promises he will, at a proper Season, prove those Crimes and Abundance more upon them to the full ; gets himself and Party fast fixed in Power ; and then laughs in his Sleeve at the Credulity of the Multitude, who were gaping for the Proofs he promised them of the Enormities he had charged on great Men : 'Tis enough for all the Purposes he ever intended, that those Men are once run down (by his subtle Detraction and gross Defamation,) that they are fallen, disgraced, ruined ; and that he and his Friends are Triumphant, and in the Possession of Power to do what they list. It must be observed, that as the *Craftsman* now, so the *Examiner* then, did not think it sufficient to explode a Minister's publick Actions and Management, he descended to the rudest Reflections on his personal Carriage and domestick Way of Life, exposing him and his Family to the Hatred or Derision of the Multitude. Of this Conduct there are many Instances in his Treatment of what he calls the Ministry or Junto in general, and of the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* in particular ; a Specimen of which I shall lay before the Reader in a few Passages out of a great many that I have extracted from the *Examiner* ; to which I shall add some Remarks, mostly taken from the Writings of those Times ; for when Things have been once well stated, it is better to quote and repeat them,

them, than to dress up the same Matter again in other Words.

Passages from the Examiner.

Thursday, Nov. 23, 1710.

We live under a Queen who engrosses all our Love and all our Veneration ; and the only Way for a great General or Minister, to acquire any Degree of subordinate Affection from the Publick, must be by all Marks of the most entire Submission and Respect to her Sacred Person and Commands ; otherwise, no Pretence of great Services, either in the Field or in the Cabinet will be able to screen them from universal Hatred. — Is it not notorious to the whole Kingdom, that nothing but a tender Regard for the General, was able to preserve that Ministry so long till neither God nor Man could suffer their Continuance ?

The Charge against the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, of Insolence towards the Queen, is repeated over and over by the *Examiner* with great Vehemence and Clamour, pursuant to the Instructions which his Director gave him in his Letter. It was indeed the very best Topick his Director could have chosen ; for first, it was in Truth the only Thing that on the Queen's Part could be said for dismissing such a General and such a Treasurer ; in the next Place, her Majesty permitting it to be once openly and directly asserted, no Answer could possibly be made to it, no Justification could be offered ; for to what End could any one dare to plead that her Majesty was not used with Insolence, if she, the only Judge and Witness in that Case, would affirm she was ? But besides, it was of great Consequence (under the Pretext of this Misbehaviour of those Ministers) to establish among the People, that her Majesty ought
not

not only to be approached and treated with Awe, Veneration, Respect and Submission, (as no doubt all crowned Heads ought to be) but this Doctrine was extended to an implicit Obedience to her Majesty's Administration, not only on Account of her Wisdom, her Piety, and her Love of her People, (which were proper Motives to urge) but also on Account of her Hereditary Title, (which Title she neither had nor wanted :) And the Ministry made good Use of this ; they cunningly put the Queen in the Front of every Thing they did ; it was her *Majesty's Peace*, and therefore all the extraordinary Steps taken in negotiating it were to be approved ; they carried this Notion so far, that not one Paper of Powers or Instructions throughout the whole Negotiation was countersigned by any one Minister, but the Queen's Name exposed to cover all ; (though that was a poor Artifice, that could not have availed them in a Day of Enquiry :) In short, the Reading of the Passages I shall in the Course of these Papers quote from the *Examiner*, will shew how much the Queen's Name was made the Sanction of all that was done : Only there was one Thing that the *Examiner* does not mention, but well deserves to be remembred, and that is, the Military Officers, who towards the End of her Reign were privately talked with, were asked to engage in her *Majesty's Measures* ; and if they desired an Explication of that Phrase, could get none. The Tendency of all this was plain ; *if* (for I will only put it as a Supposition at present) it was designed that the House of *Hanover* should be set aside, and the *Pretender* brought in, the Sacredness of the Queen's Person (made the more so by her Sex,) her universal Character of Piety and Virtue, and her Profession of a Heart entirely *English*, were the only Colours under which such a Design could be disclosed at last with any Probability of Success.

But to return again to this insolent Treatment of the Queen charged upon the Duke of *Marborough* and Lord *Godolphin*. They were both as gentle in their Manners and Behaviour, had as much Command of Temper as any Men; were bred up in Courts, and could not want so much Politeness as not to preserve the ordinary Forms of approaching and speaking to their Sovereign: The Insolence complained of could not certainly be of that Sort: Perhaps the Carriage of others towards her Majesty may help us to a Conjecture what their real Fault was. Bishop *Burnet*, in a Passage I have already quoted, tells us, ‘ that
 ‘ a Bed-Chamber Woman, who had learned the
 ‘ *Arts* (the Bishop does not mean the *Politeness*) of
 ‘ a Court, observed the Queen’s Temper with so
 ‘ much Application, that she got far into her Heart:
 ‘ And employed all her Credit to alienate her Affections from the Dutches of *Marlborough*, who
 ‘ studied no other Method of preserving her Favour, but by pursuing the true Interest of the
 ‘ Queen, and of the Kingdom. It was said, that
 ‘ the Queen was only a Cypher in the Government;
 ‘ that the Nation were all for the Queen, and that
 ‘ without Doubt she would reign out peaceably
 ‘ her own Life; but she needed not concern herself for a *German* Family. ’

The Contrast between these fawning Flatterers and the Dutches of *Marlborough* is very strong, the Bishop says her Grace studied no other Method of preserving her Majesty’s Favour, but by pursuing *the true Interest of the Queen and of the Kingdom*. In all Likelyhood this is the Truth, and may be assigned for the true Reason why her Grace is treated so inhumanly by the *Examiner* and his Director. But of this we must not expect a fuller and clearer Account, till her Grace’s Memoirs of her own Times come to be published; which I suppose

suppose is not to be till after her Death, her Grace seeming to have taken up the noble Resolution of appealing to Posterity for her Fame ; in the mean while so thoroughly suppressing all Resentment against her barbarous Detractors, as if she had not only forgiven them, but was entirely reconciled to them. Be this as it will, we see by the Bishop's Account, how her Majesty was treated by those who sought to undermine and supplant the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*: They treated her merely as a Woman, possessed with feminine Passions ; the Insinuations, that the General and the Treasurer made all the Figure, while she was but a Cypher in the Government ; and that, since she would reign out peaceably her own Life, she needed not concern herself for a *German* Family ; are exactly the Language of a Lady's Woman, who had discover'd her Mistress's weak Side. On the other hand, one is willing to believe, that the General and Treasurer addressing themselves to her Majesty, must needs treat her with those Marks of Respect, which all Men, and Courtiers especially, naturally pay to the Sex : But they had still higher Notions of her ; they considered her as a Queen, whose Mind was filled with all Royal Virtues ; and they thought so well of her Understanding, that they held it a Point of Conscience and Duty, as well as Respect, to lay before her plainly what they judged to be *the true Interest of her Majesty, and of her Kingdom*, as Bishop *Burnet* words it. I do not perceive any Insolence in this ; it remains therefore, that the Insolence charged upon them by the *Examiner*, must be their Writing to the Queen, that they could not serve her longer, if *Harley* was continued in the Post of *Secretary*. If this be Insolence, then let any Man tell me, whether at the End of the Queen's Reign, when Lord *Bolingbroke* got *Oxford*

dismiss'd her Service, he must not necessarily have used Words to the very same Effect: *Madam, I cannot serve your Majesty longer, if Oxford be continued Treasurer.* As to the childish Insinuations, that while the General and Treasurer were employ'd, the Queen made no Figure; let us imagine how Queen *Elizabeth* would have taken it, had any officious Creature whispered her, that as long as she kept *Cecil* and *Walsingham* in her Service, they would make all the Figure in the Government, and she but a Cypher? The *Medley* stated this Point justly in the following Words: ' It is wonderful to
' see the same People, who so justly admire her
' Majesty's great Wisdom, and the Success and
' Credit of her happy Reign, make such bitter In-
' vectives against those who have conducted her
' Arms, or have managed her Treasure and Af-
' fairs: For this is not only a ridiculous Contra-
' diction, but an absurd Reflection upon the Queen
' herself. Her Majesty neither commanded her
' Army, nor directed immediately her Exchequer,
' nor presided in her Chancery, nor writ her own
' Dispatches; but she made so prudent a Choice
' of proper Officers for all these Stations, that be-
' fore the *Examiner* was heard of, her Reign was
' greater than any that is recorded in History, and
' her Name was glorious over all the World; yet
' these were the Ministers that (to use the *Exami-*
' *ner's* Words) *were hated by God and Man.*

To this Charge of Insolence upon the old Ministers, I cannot but add here some Observations on the Insolence charged upon the *Dutch*, (in the same Letter of Advice from the Director of the *Examiner*, and by the *Examiner* often repeated) for offering to advise our Queen in her own Affairs. Bishop *Burnet* gives this Account of it. ' In June
' 1710 the Queen dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland*
' from being Secretary of State, without pre-
' tending

' tending any Maleverſation in him, and gave
 ' the Seals to the Lord *Dartmouth*. This gave
 ' the Alarm both at Home and Abroad; but the
 ' Queen, to leſſen that, ſaid to her Subjects here,
 ' in particular to the Governors of the Bank of
 ' *England*, and wrote to her Miniſters Abroad,
 ' that they ſhould aſſure her Allies, that ſhe would
 ' make no other Changes, and ſaid this herſelf to
 ' the Miniſter whom the States had here. All
 ' theſe concurred to expreſs their Joy in this Re-
 ' ſolution, and join'd to it their Advice, that ſhe
 ' would not diſſolve the Parliament. This was re-
 ' preſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed
 ' in the Negotiations of Princes in Alliance, as a
 ' bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; tho'
 ' nothing is more common than for Princes to offer
 ' mutual Advices in ſuch Caſes.'

To what the Biſhop relates may be added, from
 one of the Papers of that Time, the very Expres-
 ſions uſed in M. *Vrybergen's* Memorial to the
 Queen, viz. ' That in Return to her Maſteſty's
 ' Signification to the States General of her Inten-
 ' tion, their High Mightineſſes had ſent him Or-
 ' ders to thank her Maſteſty in the beſt Manner
 ' poſſible, and to acquaint her, that they re-
 ' joyced extremely for the Aſſurances ſhe had been
 ' pleaſed to give them, that ſhe would not change
 ' the Miniſtry; and that thoſe Aſſurances had
 ' deliver'd them from the great Diſquiet gi-
 ' ven them by the Rumour, which the Enemy
 ' and ill-deſigning People had induſtriouſly ſpread
 ' Abroad of her Intention to change the Miniſtry,
 ' and diſſolve the Parliament: They being per-
 ' ſuaded that the ſame Reaſons which had induced
 ' her Maſteſty not to do the one, might deter-
 ' mine her not to do the other. To which Par-
 ' ticulars this Reaſoning is ſubjoyned in that Paper:
 ' All the World muſt juſtify the *Dutch* in their
 ' Appre-

‘ Apprehensions of a new Parliament, when so
 ‘ great a Number of Electors had declared they
 ‘ held such Principles as are utterly inconsistent
 ‘ with those which effected the Revolution, and
 ‘ established the Government subsequent thereto.
 ‘ The *British* Nation may possibly have the Be-
 ‘ nefit of the Word *Abdication*, if ever the Pretender
 ‘ carry his Point: There was no Force used on
 ‘ our Part (or at least none ought to have been
 ‘ used) against King *James II*, if Dr. *Sacheverel*
 ‘ and his Adherents may be believed; but the
 ‘ States are conscious, and I suppose scorn to
 ‘ deny, that they did employ *Force* on that Oc-
 ‘ casion.’ So far that Paper.

When one considers with what Noise and Vio-
 lence the *Dutch* were exclaimed against upon this
 Occasion, one is apt to think, that by this voluntary
 Signification to them of her Majesty’s Intention
 (which no doubt was done by the Advice of her
 new Favourites, it is so like them; for none but
 they could induce the *Queen* to declare what they
 knew she did not mean) the Advisers designed it
 for a Trap to insnare the *Dutch* in; for it cannot
 well be conceived how the States, all Circumstances
 considered, could answer otherwise than they did.
 Was her Majesty’s Condescension in acquainting
 them, that tho’ she had removed the Earl of *Sün-
 derland*, she did not intend any further Change
 of her Ministry, any thing else in Effect than ask-
 ing them whether they approved her making no
 further Change? They innocently answer, they
 did approve it. Why that would have been Fault
 enough with the new Ministry, had the States gone
 no further; they would have pursued them with
 as much Hatred and Malice, tho’ perhaps not so
 openly, for that Opposition to their being recei-
 ved into Favour and Trust. But, luckily for them,
 the States having presumed (upon the very friend-
 ly

ly Disposition her Majesty appeared to be in to learn their true Opinion and receive their Advice) to go one Step further, and to mention the Parliament, they were caught in their Simplicity: The new Ministers greedily took Advantage of it, and workt it up into a kind of national Cause: The *Examiner* following the Direction given him, began early to set up an Outcry against the *Dutch*, to incense the Electors of the new Members then about to be chosen; and afterwards the Ministry inflamed the new Parliament itself against them; to the End, that after they had rendered the *Dutch* odious, they might safely use them in that most unworthy, false, and treacherous manner they did, and proceed unmolested in carrying on their pernicious Designs with the better Disguise: As shall be shewn in the Course of these Papers, when we come to that Ministry's Usage of the Allies, and particularly the *Dutch*.

What is said above of the States having Cause to be apprehensive for their own Sakes, of the Queen's going into Measures that seemed to tend naturally to bring in the Pretender, was not a vain Surmise: If any Man could doubt that the *Dutch* are liable to be called to a severe Account by the Pretender for the Part they acted in the Revolution, if ever he should come in; he may be satisfied of it by the strongest Evidence, even that of the Pretender himself, who in his Letter to the States, dated from *Barleduc*, the 18th of *October* 1715, writes thus,

Most dear and great Friends, Allies and Confederates.

‘ I T having pleased God to dispose the Hearts
 ‘ of a considerable Part of our Subjects to
 ‘ return to their Duty, and to invite us to set out
 ‘ forthwith to joyn them and take Possession of
 ‘ our Kingdoms: Before we depart for this Expedition, we take Pleasure in acquainting you with

‘ it, being perswaded that you are too discerning to
 ‘ doubt one Moment of the Justice of our Cause,
 ‘ and too prudent and just to oppose it. We de-
 ‘ sire of you at least a Neutrality. If you grant it,
 ‘ and do not assist our Enemies, we shall gladly
 ‘ forget what is past. —

We proceed now with Passages from the *Examiner*.

Examiner, Dec. 21, 1710.

*There are certain Maxims that all wise Govern-
 ments have observed : The first I shall mention is, that
 no private Man should have a Commission to be General
 for Life, let his Merit and Services be ever so great.
 Or, if a Prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such
 a Commission in one Hand, let him (to save Time and
 Blood) deliver up his Crown with the other.*

*It is not impossible but a General may desire such
 a Commission out of Inadvertency, at the Instigation of
 his Friends, or perhaps of his Enemies, or meerly for
 the Benefit and Honour of it, without intending any
 such dreadful Consequences ; and in that Case, a wise
 Prince or State may barely refuse it without shew-
 ing any Marks of their Displeasure. But the Request
 in it's own Nature is highly Criminal, and ought to
 be entered so upon Record, to terrify others in Time
 to come from venturing to make it.*

A few Days before the Duke of Marlborough set
 out for *Holland*, in order to concert Measures at
 the *Hague* for the Campaign of 1711, the *Examiner*
 for a Farewell to him, made a formal Address to him
 by the Name of *Marcus Crassus*. I will but just premise
 to it, That by this and other like Invectives against
 the Duke, with which the *Examiner* abounds, the
 Reader will see he took all Advantages of that great
 Man's only Foible, the Love of Money ; and parti-
 cularly to invent and display imaginary Scenes of
 Hardships and Miseries brought by it upon his Sol-
 diers ;

diers ; who in reality having never felt any other Hardships than what are common to their Profession, had never complained of the least ill Usage from their General. But if his Grace had had the contrary Character of Liberality and profuse Expence, it would have served the *Examiner* as well, or rather better ; it would have been a more just and fruitful Topick, for representing him as a designing Man, who sought to make himself popular for ambitious Ends ; which Study of Popularity cannot with any Propriety be charged upon the other Character.

To *Marcus Crassus*. *Examiner*, Feb. 8, 1710-11.

No Man disputes the gracefulness of your Person ; you are allowed to have a good and clear Understanding cultivated by the Knowledge of Men and Manners, though not by Literature. You are no ill Orator in the Senate ; you are said to excell in the Art of bridling and subduing your Anger, and stifling or concealing your Resentments. You have been a most successful General, of long Experience, great Conduct, and much personal Courage. Yet with all these Qualities, and this Merit, What shall I say ? Though you are the richest Person in the Commonwealth ; though you have no Male Child, and your Daughters are all married to wealthy Patricians ; and though you are far in the decline of Life ; yet you are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble Vice of Covetousness.

When your Adversaries reflect how far you are gone in this Vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed our Successes, not to your Courage or Conduct, but to those veteran Troops you Command, who are able to conquer under any General, with so many brave and experienced Officers to lead them. Besides, we know the Consequences your Avarice hath often occasioned. The Soldier hath been starving for Bread, surrounded with Plenty, and in an Enemy's Country, but all under Safeguard and Contributions ; which if you had some-

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times pleased to have exchanged for Provisions, might, at the Expence of a few Talents in a Campaign, have so endeared you to the Army, that they would have desired you to lead them to the utmost Limits of Asia. But you rather chose to confine your Conquests within the fruitful Country of Mesopotamia, where Plenty of Money might be raised. How far that fatal Greediness of Gold may have influenced you, in * breaking off the Treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, you best can tell; your Enemies charge you with it; your Friends offer nothing Material in your Defence.

* In the Director's Letter to the *Examiner* it is affirmed, ' that in 1706 the Barrier for Holland ' might have been obtained by the Concessions which ' 'twas notorious that the Enemy offered.' The *Examiner* repeats this, with some Variation in his Paper of June 12, 1712, affirming, ' that after ' the Battle of Ramellies (which was in 1706) Peace ' might have been obtained if her Majesty's Ministers had in good earnest improved those Offers ' that were made towards it.' To this I will only say at present, that Mr. Harley himself, at that Time Secretary of State, in a Letter to the Pensionary Bays upon the Offers then made by France, says ' that in his Opinion no good Subject of the Queen could accept them.' But to proceed, in the said Director's Letter to the *Examiner* it was also affirmed, ' it should one Day be fully made out to ' the World, that our Plenipotentiaries at Gertruydenberg [the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Viscount Townshend] did not do what they might ' have done to obtain a safe and honourable Peace.' And here he says *Craffus* was ' influenced by Greediness of Gold to break off that Treaty with the ' old Parthian King.' All this will be considered in the Course of these Papers, when we come to set forth the said Director's excellent Talents
at

at making Treaties. He is very free in reproaching all other Ministers, that they either want Abilities or Honesty to negotiate Treaties: We shall shew, that when he took upon himself the Office of negotiating, no Man ever acquitted himself of that Trust with greater Weakness, and at the same Time with greater Wickedness. We shall shew, that he and his Fellow-Minister or Ministers (if he insists upon sharing that Honour with one or more Associates) did wilfully designedly and basely employ, against the Allies of *Great Britain*, the Power she, with her Allies, had in their Hands of compelling *France* to come to what Terms of Peace they pleased, that might be safe, lasting and honourable to Her and to them; in doing which, he not only dishonoured our Nation, disgraced the noble and till then unblemished Character of the Duke of *Ormond*, by putting him upon Actions unworthy of a *British* Peer and a *British* General; but sullied the Glory of the Queen's Reign, by engaging Her to act a Part unworthy the Royal Dignity.

The Duke of *Marlborough* did not suffer himself to be discomposed by the Petulancy and Rudeness with which he saw himself and his nearest and dearest Friends treated in publick Papers by the *Examiner* and his Director; but keeping his Temper, and persisting in the plain Track of his Duty to his Queen and Country, resolved to make the best Use he could of the Number of Troops allowed him: And nothing could better testify his Firmness and Constancy of Mind, than the Patience and Resolution with which he acquitted himself of all the Functions of a consummate General in that Campaign of 1711.

Order of Time requires that particular Mention should be made here of the Lord *Godolphin*.

The *Examiner* in one Passage speaking of him singly, only says in general, *that the whole Body of the Nation wished the Treasurer cut, before the Queen displaced him*; but he found it impracticable to fasten any personal Crime upon him committed in his own peculiar Province of managing the Treasury: He therefore turned Inquisitor, raked into his private Life and Manners, and thought it necessary to pelt him with low Ribaldry; called him a *Gamester*, chiefly because he diverted himself with playing at Chefs; and a *Jockey*, because he used to go to the Horse Races at *New-market*: But in April 1711, the Director of the *Examiner*, being conscious that this Lord (who both by himself in his Letter to the *Examiner*, and afterwards by the *Examiner* pursuant to his Instructions, was included in the Invectives vented against the Ministry or Junto) could not be affected by any Proofs of Maleversation in his Office, thought fit to prepare his Party without Doors to excuse his not being proceeded against in a manner suitable to his supposed Offences, by the following Paper.

Examiner, April 26, 1711.

We cannot refuse the late Ministry their due Praises, who foreseeing a Storm, provided for their own Safety, by two admirable Expedients, by which, with great Prudence, they have escaped the Punishments due to pernicious Counsels and corrupt Management. The first was to procure, under Pretences hardly specious, a general Act of Indemnity, which cuts off all Impeachments. The second was yet more refined: Suppose for Instance, a Council is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous Designs of a prevailing Party, to preserve them in Power, to gratify the unmeasurable Appetites of a few Leaders, Civil and Military, tho' by hazarding the Ruin of the whole Nation: This Council, desperate in itself, unpresided in the Nature of it, they procured a Majority

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to form into an Address, which makes it look like the Sense of the Nation. Under that Shelter they carry on their Work, and lye secure against after Reckonings.

'Tis very plain, that considering the Defectiveness of our Laws, the Variety of Cases, the Weakness of the Prerogative, the Power or the Cunning of ill-designing Men, it is possible, that many great Abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished; especially if we add to this, that some Enquiries might probably involve those, whom upon other Accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false Reasoning, especially in the Management of publick Affairs, to argue that Men are innocent, because the Law hath not pronounced them guilty.

This Paper was become the more Necessary, by what the Director of it knew was moving in the House of Commons; where two Days afterwards, viz. on the 28th of April, the Lord Godolphin was voted guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accountants to pass their Accounts.

Here I must not let pass what the Examiner in his last quoted Paper advances, That the old Ministry had procured a general Act of Indemnity which cut off all Impeachments. To expose the Falshood of this Assertion, the Writer of the *Medley* published the following Exceptions in that Act.

‘ And also excepted out of this Pardon all and
 ‘ every the Sums of Money and Duties following,
 ‘ and the Concealment and wrongfull Detainment
 ‘ thereof; that is to say, &c. or any other Tax,
 ‘ Assessment, Duty, Imposition, Debt, or Sum of
 ‘ Money whatsoever to the Queen’s Majesty given,
 ‘ or levyable by any Act of Parliament, or other-
 ‘ wise due or belonging to the Queen’s Majesty,
 ‘ &c. and all Corruption and Misdemeanors of any
 ‘ Officer or Minister of or concerning the same,
 ‘ and

‘ and all Accounts and Suits whatsoever to be had,
 ‘ made, or prosecuted for the same; and also ex-
 ‘ cepted all and singular Accounts of all and every
 ‘ Collector and Collectors, Commissioners, Treasurers,
 ‘ Receivers or other Officers, or other Accountants
 ‘ whatsoever, who have received or collected, or are any
 ‘ other way Accountable to her Majesty for any Subsidy, &c.

The *Medley* following his Blow, repeated in several of his Papers, Week after Week, this Advertisement.

Advertisement. ‘ The next Time the *Examiner*,
 ‘ according to his usual Method, goes about to
 ‘ blast the Reputation of the most worthy Gentlemen
 ‘ in *Britain*, by the most villanous Forgery that ever
 ‘ any Knight of the Post lost his Ears for; he is advised
 ‘ so to contrive Matters, that his Lye may not be
 ‘ disproved, as it was in the Case of the late Ministry,
 ‘ when he charged them with getting an Act of Indemnity
 ‘ to cover their corrupt Management; since all such Crimes
 ‘ are particularly excepted in that Act.

The Repetition of this Advertisement in several *Medleys* successively, was a well-judged Method to expose the *Examiner* to the publick Reproach, and I well remember it had that Effect at that Time. And I have often thought, that if some of the Answers which have been made to the *Craftsman's* Calumnies, had been in the like Manner repeated in a publick Paper again and again, in the Form of Advertisements, it might have had the same Effect. I will give one Instance here: The *Craftsman* finding that the Character of *Sejanus*, *Wolfey*, or any other of the wickedest Ministers that have been delivered down to us by Historians, would, upon the least Wink of his to his usual Readers, be applied by them to a Minister now in
 Being,

Being, has been very industrious in exhibiting all the bad Ministers he could muster up, in the blackest Colours: In this he indulges himself the more freely, because he thinks it the safest, and knows 'tis the most mischevous Way of defaming: For the Ignorant and the Credulous take it into their Heads that the same Species of Crimes imputed to those former Ministers are really practised by the present, tho' there be in Reality no Shadow of Similitude in their Actions. The *Craftsman* was hugely delighted with the Fall of the *Knez Menzikoff* in 1727, because it furnished him with such a Picture of that Minister as he thought the Generality of his Readers would easily fancy had the Resemblance of another. It was with peculiar Pleasure therefore that in one of his Papers he inserted two of the Articles charged upon *Menzikoff*, distinguishing the applicable Words by Italicks, viz. 'the having defrauded his Sovereign in the *Ex-cise*, by which he *amassed immense Sums*; and the 'having detained to *himself* one half of the general 'Impost on Tobacco, whereof he was Superintendant, amounting to 600000 Rubels.' But least any of the dullest of his Admirers should have simply imagined that the Charge against *Menzikoff* was against *Menzikoff*, he resumed the same Subject in another Paper, and directly explained his Meaning, by pretending to explain the *Knez's* Title of *Tax-teth*. The Word, he says, an ingenious Friend of his assured him, signifies, in the *Sclavonian* Language, *Taxtaker*: *Whether (continues he) This may be translated a Lord of the Treasury (who amongst us, bath the Care and Superintendency of all the publick Taxes) I can't say; but certain it is, that the Knez took this Province intirely to himself, and many of the Taxes too, without ever pretending to give any Account of them to his Master, or any Body else; for which Reason, it is said, that he is now to be converted, as*

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it were, into a Tax himself, and taken to ease the People of some of those heavy Loads which he had brought upon them, — Nec lex est justior ulla.

Upon this, a Letter to the *Craftsman*, subscribed *Plain Man*, was printed in one of the common Papers, an Extract of which follows.

‘ I am not acquainted with the Constitution of
 ‘ *Muscovy*, or with the Course of the *Russian* Ex-
 ‘ chequer ; but I know the Constitution of our
 ‘ Country, and the Course of our Exchequer, can-
 ‘ not possibly admit of such Practices as are charged
 ‘ upon the *Knez Menzikoff*.

‘ No Minister can lay any Tax upon us : It is
 ‘ our peculiar Felicity that we can only be taxed
 ‘ by our Representatives in Parliament.

‘ Whatever Taxes are thus laid upon us, must
 ‘ first have been voted Necessary for the Service
 ‘ of the Publick ; and our own Representatives
 ‘ are the only Judges of those Necessities, and
 ‘ proportion the Taxes to them.

‘ Again, these Taxes are by our own Represen-
 ‘ tatives appropriated to the very Services for
 ‘ which they were voted, and are collected and re-
 ‘ ceived by Officers who give great Security for
 ‘ their Fidelity ; and must by them be paid into
 ‘ the King’s Exchequer, and not to a Minister ;
 ‘ and the Officers of the Exchequer, who have the
 ‘ Care of those Monies, are likewise bound to
 ‘ the King in Bonds, with great Penalties and able
 ‘ Sureties, for their truly accounting for the same,
 ‘ and well discharging the Duties of their respec-
 ‘ tive Offices.

‘ Here what you call a Prime Minister may as
 ‘ well pretend to pocket a whole County, as any
 ‘ of the publick Money raised in it ; unless one can
 ‘ be

' be so absurd as to suppose, that the Persons who
 ' themselves are charged with the publick Money,
 ' will give it to a Prime Minister, and afterwards
 ' answer it out of their own Estates. Here your
 ' Prime Minister does no more than preside in
 ' directing, in what Proportions, and at what
 ' Times, these Taxes shall be issued from the
 ' Exchequer, for the several Branches of the pub-
 ' lick Service to which they stand appropriated by
 ' Act of Parliament; and even these Directions
 ' and Orders are all recorded, and, with the Receipts
 ' of the Parties to whom the Money is issued,
 ' become Vouchers to the Officers of the Exche-
 ' quer for their issuing such Money; and the se-
 ' veral Persons who thus receive any of the pub-
 ' lick Money, are again charged with it upon Re-
 ' cord, and can never be discharged but by the
 ' true Expenditure of that Money in those Ser-
 ' vices for which it was raised; which must also
 ' appear by another Record of the Exchequer.

' Thus, by our Constitution, no Prime Mini-
 ' ster can touch one Farthing of the Taxes raised
 ' for the Service of the Nation, which of Necess-
 ' sity must all pass through the Hands of subor-
 ' dinate Ministers, in their respective Depart-
 ' ments; against whose Misbehaviour or Embez-
 ' zlements, no human Policy can frame better
 ' Checks and Defences, than are to be found in
 ' the admirable Œconomy of our Exchequer.

It would have been well done, I think, to have
 repeated in the Papers this and other such plain Re-
 plies to the *Craftsman*; and therefore, indulging my
 own Opinion, I have repeated it here.

The *Examiner* going on to expose the old Mi-
 nistry, and among them the Lord *Geddes*, enter-
 tained the Publick in the following Manner.

Examiner, May 10, 1711.

I cannot but observe with infinite Pleasure, that a great Part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing Faction, hath been sufficiently confirmed at several Times by the Resolutions of one or t'other House of Parliament. That the late Ministry were justly to blame in some Management, which occasioned the Battle of Almanza, and the Disappointment at Toulon. That the Publick has been grievously wronged by most notorious Frauds, during the W^{big} Administration. That those who advised the bringing in of the Palatines were Enemies to the Kingdom. That the late Managers of the Revenue have not duly passed their Accounts for a great Part of Thirty five Millions, and ought not to be trusted in such Employments any more. Perhaps in a little Time I may venture to affirm some other Paradoxes of this Kind, and produce the same Vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a Period, instead of one Examiner, the late Ministry might have had above four Hundred, each of whose little Fingers would be heavier than my Loins.

Examiner, June 21, 1711.

I am very well assured that the former Ministry, after a long run of ill Husbandry, were often at their Wits-end (till Things grew riper for that Change they had proposed) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the Publick, that Report which they knew would ruin all their Designs.

They had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves; to preserve their Wealth and Authority, they must invade the Constitution. As to their own Possessions, an Act of Indemnity had secured them. And for the Rest, they had little more to risque, than whether they should remain opulent Subjects, though without any Share in the Power; or become Masters, without Limitation.

Avarice is very insatiable! How then must it destroy, when it has the Wealth of a Nation to feed on?

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The Miseries of the People, the Tears and Groans of poor Seamen and their Families, were not regarded by these Devourers; universal Frauds and Abuses not only winked at, but encouraged: Trade not dying, but dead: Publick Credit, 'tis true was still alive; but subsisted only upon strong Cordials, in utter Ignorance of her approaching Dissolution. Yet no one Step was made by these State Physicians, towards preventing her apparent Decease, much less did they take any Thought about curing the Malady they had occasioned: They were not so void of Reason as to be ignorant of the Condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a Remedy to secure themselves, (which a little Time would perfect to their Wish) and which all good Subjects must tremble to think on; a Remedy a thousand Times worse than the Disease; where, instead of an indulgent lawful Queen, we must have referred to a lawless Junto, and to an arbitrary Captain General.

Examiner, June 28, 1711.

That scandalous Day! when insignificant Pages and forward Attornies Clerks were hoisted above the Knowledge of themselves, or their Remembrance of others; not only perverting to their several Uses the Treasure of the Nation, but presuming to give Laws even to their Sovereign.

Bishop Burnet, on Occasion of the Vote of the House of Commons against the Lord Godolphin, says, ' Their Malice turned against the Earl of Godolphin; they found that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the Accounts of many Millions were not yet passed in the Exchequer; so they passed a Vote, that the Accounts of Thirty five Millions yet stood out. This was a vast Sum; but to make it up, some Accounts in King Charles's Time were thrown into the Heap; the Lord Ranelagh's Accounts

' of the former Reign were the greatest Part ; and
 ' it appeared, that in no Time Accounts were so
 ' regularly brought up, as in the Queen's Reign.
 ' Mr. *Bridges's* Accounts of fourteen or fifteen Mil-
 ' lions, were the great *Item*, of which not above
 ' half a Million was passed : But there were Ac-
 ' counts of above Eleven Millions brought in,
 ' though not passed in Form. The Truth is, the
 ' Methods of passing Accounts were so sure, that
 ' they were very slow ; and it was not possible
 ' for the proper Officers to find Time and Lei-
 ' sure to pass the Accounts that were already in
 ' their Hands. Upon this, though the Earl of
 ' *Gallatin* had managed the Treasury with an
 ' Uncommon, Firmness and Diligence, that were
 ' so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix
 ' any Censure on his Administration ; yet, because
 ' many Accounts stood out, they passed some angry
 ' Votes on that. But since nothing had appeared,
 ' in all the Examination they had made, that
 ' reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they
 ' would not consent to the Motion that was made
 ' for printing that Report : for by that it would
 ' have appeared who had served well, and who
 ' had served ill.

Another Writer relates a very remarkable Cir-
 cumstance, that shews the Heat and Precipitancy
 with which this Censure was voted, viz. ' If the
 ' late Lord Treasurer was guilty, it must have been
 ' by sending Orders or Warrants to the Deputy
 ' Remembrancer to stay Process. This the House
 ' of Commons was sensible of, and therefore, in
 ' order to have the whole Matter before them,
 ' on Thursday *April 26, 1711*, they ordered the
 ' Deputy-Remembrancer to lay before the House,
 ' what Orders he had received for staying or is-
 ' suing Process against Accountants. On Tuesday
 ' following

following, the 1st of May, the Deputy Remem-
 brancer presents the said Orders and Warrants ;
 but the Patriots, impatient of Delay, on Saturday
 the 28th of April, had resumed the Consideration
 of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and censure,
 before the only Evidence, which could set this
 Matter in a true Light, was before them, which
 they themselves had called for, and which proved
 a full Justification of the Person, whom they
 thought it necessary first to condemn, and then
 to try.

Now to Return to the Duke of Marlborough.
 While he was Abroad in this his last Campaign,
 the *Examiner* thought fit to put the Publick in
 Mind of him by the following Passages.

Examiner, July 19, 1711.

*This dazzling unweildy Structure [Blenheim] was
 built amidst the Tears and Groans of a People barrased
 with a lingring War, to gratify the Ambition of a
 Subject, while the Sovereign's Palace lay in Ashes. It
 was dedicated from the first Foundation to the Goddess
 of Pride ; the Building excessive costly, but not artful ;
 the Architect seemed to consider how to be most Pro-
 fuse, and therefore neglected an Advantageous Emi-
 nence (made proper by Nature) to build one a quarter
 of a Mile short of it, at the vain Expence of Fifty
 Millions of Sesterces : There were to be seen stately
 Towers, noble Porticoes, ample Piazzas, and well-
 turned Pillars, without one handyome Room, unless you
 will call the Kitchen and Cellar such, which Part of
 the House happens to be of very little or no Use to the
 parsimonious Founder.*

*Here the Goddess kept her Court, within an Inner
 Chamber, into which Passengers were conducted : She
 was seated on a Throne.*

The *Examiner* proceeds to bring a Lady into
 this

this visionary Scene : As I take no Pleasure in Characters drawn with such Excess of Spite and Rancour, I shall give but a short Abridgment of it.

A Lady with Precipitation broke through the Croud, and made directly to the Throne : Though passed her Meridian, her Bloom was succeeded by so graceful an Air, that Youth could scarce make her more desirable. Her fair Hair was tucked under a Tiara of Jewels made in the Fashion of a Coronet. If her Beauty prepossessed us to her Advantage, we were not less terrified in beholding the Company she was in : On one side marched Envy lashing her with Whips and Snakes, giving her to drink by Intervals from a Cup of Wine mingled with Gall and Wormwood. Her other Supporter was Wrath, who continually tossed a flaming Brand, directing her Sight to a Dagger which he held. Her Breath was incessantly applied to the Lady's Spleen and Brain, from whence violent Agonies and raging Phrensies succeeded, as was evident by a Toss and Motion as particular as wonderful.

The Goddess not only vouchsafed her a gracious Look, but gave her Hand to the Lady, who was named Fulvia ; after a tender Embrace, she seated her by her on the Throne, and called her Conqueress in right of her Husband.

Fulvia with Sighs told the Goddess, that from a Prospect of being the most happy Person, she was become the miserablest. The Laurels daily fading upon the Brow of her absent Lord.

The absent Lord is named *Anthony*, and the Goddess says, to *Fulvia*, among other Things, *Anthony's Zeal must languish ; let him attempt no further for the Good of the Empire, but his own.*

This last Campaign the Duke of *Marlborough* made, was so admirably conducted and happily finished, that Bishop *Burnet* imbellishes his History with an Account of it, in Substance as follows.

‘ The

' The Duke of *Marlborough's* Army was not
 ' only weakned by the Detachment that Prince
 ' *Eugene* carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling
 ' over Five thousand Men of the best Bodies of
 ' his Army, for an Expedition designed by Sea
 ' [to *Canada*] so that the *French* were superior to
 ' him in Number: They lay behind Lines that
 ' were lookt on as so strong, that the forcing
 ' them was thought an impracticable Thing; and
 ' it was said, that *Villars* had wrote to the *French*
 ' King, that he had put a *ne plus ultra* to the
 ' Duke of *Marlborough*: But, contrary to all Ex-
 ' pectation, he did so amuse *Villars* with feint Mo-
 ' tions, that at last, to the Surprize of all *Europe*,
 ' he passed the Lines near *Bouchain*, without the
 ' Loss of a Man.

' He next proposed the besieging *Bouchain*,
 ' which he thought might oblige the *French* to
 ' endeavour to raise the Siege; and that might
 ' give Occasion to their coming to a general En-
 ' gagement, or it would bring both a Disreputa-
 ' tion and a Disheartning on their Army, if a
 ' Place of such Importance should be taken in their
 ' Sight: Both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General
 ' Officers thought the Design was too bold, yet
 ' they submitted to him in the Matter: It seemed
 ' impracticable to take a Place, situated in a Mo-
 ' rass, well fortified, with a good Garrison in it,
 ' in the Sight of a superior Army; for the *French*
 ' lay within a Mile of them. All about the Duke
 ' studied to divert him from so dangerous an Un-
 ' dertaking, since a Misfortune in his Conduct
 ' would have furnished his Enemies with the Ad-
 ' vantages that they waited for. He was sensible
 ' of all this, yet he had laid the Scheme so well,
 ' that he resolved to venture on it. He bestirred
 ' himself with unusual Application, and was more
 ' fatigued in the Course of this Siege, than he
 ' had

' had been at any Time during the whole War.
 ' After twenty Days from the Opening the Tren-
 ' ches, the Garrison of *Bouchain* capitulated ; and
 ' could have no better Terms than to be made
 ' Prisoners of War. As this was reckoned the most
 ' extraordinary Thing in the whole History of the
 ' War, so the Honour of it was acknowledged
 ' to belong wholly to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as
 ' the Blame of a Miscarriage in it must have fal-
 ' len singly on him.

The Director of the *Examiner* imagined while the Duke of *Marlborough* lay quiet in the Field, watching an Opportunity for entering vigorously upon Action, that the *Laurels* on *Anthony's Brow* were daily fading, that his Zeal languished, and that he would attempt no further for the publick Good, but look to his own. But those Laurels being refreshed by such signal Successes, the Duke became wholly unfit to be employed by the Queen any longer. It was high Time to dismiss him, for he had carried on the War so far, that one Campaign more of his conducting must have opened to the confederate Arms an Entrance into the Kingdom of *France*. So the *French* King himself owned the next Year, in express Words, the taking of *Landrecy* would have done, in his Letter for *Te Deum* on Prince *Eugene's* being obliged to raise the Siege of that Place. Which Subject I shall take Occasion to resume, when, in the Course of these Papers, I come to shew the Conduct of the Duke of *Ormond*, or rather of the new Ministry, from the Time he was made General, to the End of his inglorious Campaign.

The Duke of *Marlborough* being returned from the Army to the *Hague* in November 1711, received Information there, that the Commissioners of Accounts appointed by the House of Commons, were drawing

drawing up a Report, in which there was a Charge against him for receiving from Sir *Solomon de Medina* and others, large Sums on Account of the Bread and Bread-Waggon Contracts for the Use of the Army. Whereupon he wrote them a Letter, stating the Matter they had under Enquiry. Which Letter I reserve, till I come to give the Resolutions of the House of Commons upon taking into Consideration the Report of the said Commissioners.

Those Commissioners having, on the 22d of *December 1711*, laid their Report before the House of Commons, the Minister or the *Examiner* thought fit to prepare Mens Minds, by several virulent Papers successively, for any Resolution how ill-grounded, or how harsh soever, against the Duke of *Marlborough*, which the House might come to, when they should take that Report into Consideration on the 24th of *January*: And in the mean while, as another seasonable Preparatory, the Duke was dismissed from all his Employments at the End of *December*. I have said the Minister or the *Examiner*, because it is impossible to separate them, when one reads the *Examiner* and observes what Train the Minister put Things into in the House of Commons, or wherever else he had any thing to do. The Minister's Designs or Actions were all along foretold, explained, or disguised (as might best suit the Purpose) by the *Examiner*; and we are sure to expound right, when we expound the Minister by the *Examiner*, or the *Examiner* by the Minister. The *Examiner* then opened the Scene on the 10th of *January*, in the following humane and charitable Manner.

Examiner, Jan. 10, 1711-12.

The Duke being dismissed from his Employ-
F *ments,*

ments, I shall speak of him with much more Tenderness than if he were still in Power, nor shall concern myself with those Reports that so invidiously threaten his Reputation: If he hath been guilty to the Degree that is believed, and hath ungratefully repaid the Bounties of the best Mistress, and the most thankful People that ever a General served, it is pity but he should meet the Reward from both that such Actions deserve. I will only meddle at present with that Part of his Conduct already discovered by the Commissioners appointed for taking the publick Accounts concerning the Bread-Money. I think his Grace's Behaviour in this Particular to be the greatest Piece of Cruelty that ever was acted, considering how large are his Possessions, and how many warrantable Ways he hath had of Getting, such as no Subject before could ever pretend to the like. The most miserable Part of all the British People, are indisputably the Foot Soldiers Abroad; not to mention the Arts made use of to draw them into the Service, many Times against their Wills, being coupled together like wretched Slaves, and carried far away to die from amidst all their Friends and Relations; the Hardships they must necessarily endure, are such as have often engaged their Generals, when they were Persons of Humanity, to soften rather than add to their Distress; to give them more than the Value of a Penny a Day, rather than take a Penny from them. To see with what Intrepidity those Wretches stand the fire of Cannon, to behold them scaling Walls amidst repeated Volleys of Shot, in Battle charging again and again, passing Rivers and Lines, sleeping upon the cold wet Ground after long and tedious Marches, patient of the Extremities of Weather, consuming their Youth and Health in unwholesome Trenches; would not any one say they dearly earned

earned their Pay, and that he were worse than a Barbarian who defrauded them of the least Part of it, especially considering how inconsiderable is their Subsistence, scarce sufficient to keep them alive, never to fill their Bellies, in a Country where a long War hath made Provisions dear; to have the Fifth Penny taken by the General, is so great a Piece of Cruelty, that no History can parallel. I cannot help wishing, in Behalf of my poor Countrymen and their Families, to whom we owe so many Victories, and that each Man sits securely under his own Vine, a Way may be found to reimburse them of those Sums of Money of which they have been defrauded. Religion tells us Restitution must be made, either here or hereafter. I hope the Duke will chuse to do it here, as well for his own Sake, as that so many thousand Wretches, whom he hath injured, may be the better for his Penitence in this World, since they can be little the better for his Punishment in the next.

Examiner, Jan. 17, 1711-12.

Amongst all the sounding Names of Greek and Roman Heroes, to which they have paralleled our late General, can they find one who condescended to rob the Soldiers of their Bread? or who suffered the brave Men, wounded in the Field, to perish there, because their Leader pocketed the Money, allotted for those Contingencies that were to preserve them.

His Grace ought not to assume too much to himself, least we be forced to enter into a Part of his Character, which he yet esteems as sacred, his Behaviour in the War, and should compel us to set forth the Miscarriages and false Steps of his Conduct there. What does Tacitus say of Cerealis? Aderat Fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent. How often hath the desperate Valour of

the British Troops extricated him out of the Difficulties into which he had unskillfully brought himself? In 1708, was not his whole Army like to perish, as Men taken in a Net, where Providence preserved us, only by the Divisions of our Enemies Councils?

When the late Sir Charles Duncomb was supposed to have cheated the Publick of no larger a Sum than Seven hundred Pounds, a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, to confiscate two thirds of his Estate Real and Personal, which would have amounted to Two hundred thousand Pounds, he being then reputed to be worth Three hundred thousand Pounds. By Parity of Reason, if our late General is already discovered to have defrauded the Publick of Three hundred forty one thousand Pounds in two Articles only, should not he be proportionably fined to support that War, which he and his Friends would carry on to our Ruin? He would still have Millions left.

Examiner, Jan. 24. 1711-12.

Our late General was upon the Place, and saw how his Country was yearly imposed upon by Foreigners; how came he not to prevent it? Was it a Distemper, where the Remedy would prove worse than the Disease? Or, did they agree, as in a Consultation of Quack-Physicians, to prolong the Cure, for the Benefit of the present Fees?

Perhaps it will be thought, that I speak too irreverently, by such a Comparison of so great a Man: My Estimation of a Person is in Proportion to his Virtue; none can be more compassionate to Merit in Distress; the Disgraces of such a one I feel in my own Breast; and would be so far from insulting over his fallen Condition, that I would sincerely condole with him: But not till I had examined into his Behaviour, to know if
he

he had deserved his Sufferings, and whether his Virtues out-weigh'd his Vices.

We find Criminals at the Old-Bailey guilty to the Value of 10 d. or 13 d. and they are accordingly either whipped or hanged; whilst he who defrauds a Nation, through the Greatness of the Attempt, becomes secure.

On the 24th of *January* the House of Commons having taken into Consideration the Report of their Commissioners of Accounts, passed the two following Resolutions.

I. ' That the taking several Sums of Money
' annually by the Duke of *Mariborough* from the
' Contractors for furnishing the Bread and Bread-
' Waggons for the Army in the Low-Countries,
' was unwarrantable and illegal.

II. ' That the Two and Half *per Cent.* deduct-
' ed from the foreign Troops in her Majesty's Pay,
' is publick Money, and ought to be accounted
' for.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* Vindication of himself from these two Charges, is most distinctly stated in the Letter which (as was said above) he wrote to the Commissioners of Accounts; being as follows:

Hague, Nov. 10, 1711.

Gentlemen,

' Having been informed on my Arrival here,
' that Sir *Solomon de Medina* has acquainted you
' with my having received several Sums of Money
' from him; that it might make the less Impres-
' sion on you, I would loose no Time in letting
' you know, that this is no more than what has
' always been allowed, as a Perquisite to the Ge-
' neral, or Commander in Chief of the Army in
' the Low-Countries, even before the Revolu-
' tion,

' tion, and since : And I do assure you at the
 ' same Time, that whatever Sums I have received
 ' on that Account, have been constantly employ'd
 ' for the Service of the Publick, in keeping se-
 ' cret Correspondence, and in getting Intelli-
 ' gence of the Enemies Motions and Designs :
 ' And it has fallen so far short, that I take Leave
 ' to acquaint you with another Article that has
 ' been applied to the same Use, and which arises
 ' from her Majesty's Warrant; whereof the in-
 ' closed is a Copy; tho' this does not properly
 ' relate to the publick Accounts, being a free
 ' Gift from the foreign Troops. You will have
 ' observed by the several Establishments, that be-
 ' fore the late King's Death, when the Parlia-
 ' ment voted Forty thousand Men for the *Quota*
 ' of *England* in the Low Countries, Twenty-
 ' one thousand six hundred and twelve were to
 ' be Foreigners, and the rest *English*. For these
 ' last they gave Ten thousand Pounds a Year for
 ' Intelligence, and other Contingencies, without
 ' Account. But his Majesty being sensible, by
 ' the Experience of the last War, that this Sum
 ' would not any Ways answer that Service; and
 ' being unwilling to apply for more to the Parlia-
 ' ment, he was pleas'd to order, that the fo-
 ' reign Troops should contribute Two and a Half
 ' *per Cent.* towards it; and being then his Am-
 ' bassador, and Commander in Chief Abroad,
 ' he directed me to propose it to them, with an
 ' Assurance, that they should have no other Stop-
 ' page made from their Pay. This they readily
 ' agreed to, and her Majesty was afterwards plea-
 ' sed to confirm it by her Warrant, upon my
 ' acquainting her of the Uses it was intended
 ' for; and it has been accordingly apply'd from
 ' Time to Time for Intelligence, and secret Ser-
 ' vice, with such Success, that next to the Bless-
 ' ing

‘ sing of God, and the Bravery of the Troops,
 ‘ we may, in a great Measure, attribute most of
 ‘ the Advantages of the War in this Country,
 ‘ to the timely and good Advices procured with
 ‘ the Help of this Money.

It appears from Bishop *Burnet's* History, that in the Debate in the House concerning this Matter, ‘ it was insisted upon, that the Facts affirmed
 ‘ in this Letter were true; and that no stronger
 ‘ Proof could be given of the right Application
 ‘ of the Money arising to the Duke from both
 ‘ Articles, than that he had procured so good
 ‘ Intelligence that he was never surprized, and
 ‘ no Party he sent out was ever intercepted, or
 ‘ cut off: That by Means of this Intelligence,
 ‘ all his Designs were so well concerted, that he
 ‘ succeeded in every one of them; and by many
 ‘ Instances the Exactness of his Intelligence was
 ‘ fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by
 ‘ Witnesses, and by formal Attestations from *Holland*,
 ‘ that ever since the Year 1672 the *Jews*
 ‘ had made the like Present to the General of the
 ‘ States Army; and that it was understood as a
 ‘ Perquisite belonging to that Command.’ It must
 not be omitted, ‘ that no Complaints were brought
 ‘ from the Army, of their not being constantly
 ‘ supplied with good Bread.

The House of Commons having done with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the *Examiner* still pursued him, with such implacable Rage, as I believe the Reader will think exceeds all Example.

Examiner, Feb. 17, 1711 12.

*What Disgraces should be cast upon that Man,
 who hath annually sacrificed so many of his
 Countrymens Lives, by prolonging a pernicious War,
 that swept away our Treasure and our People?*

Can

Can there be any Sentence too heavy for him, who hath been the Guardian of his Country's Honour, and its Welfare ; yet gives up both in Exchange for Money, which he does not want ? Was such a one trusted with unlimited Power only to enrich himself, and ruin those who trusted him ? May we not very well conclude, that he that descends to take Bread from the poor Soldiers, will not scruple to commit Sacrilege ? The same Principles lead him to convey a Chalice off the Communion Table. Is that Person fit to be confided in, who never leaves undone the meanest, the most sordid Thing that brings in Gain ? Who sells to the very Dung of his Stables, and fights but as others merchandize ? How despicable must such a one appear, even to himself, when he turns his Eyes inwards ? With what Face could he every Year receive Honours and Benefits from the Hands of a grateful People, whose Ruin he was not only contriving, but acting, without one Argument to excuse himself to any but a Miser ?

Is there one in Britain so poor spirited, as not to feel Resentment and Indignation against the Author of our Calamities ? It is surely the Business of every honest Man to unmask and expose him who is not so, he ought to find no Sanctuary, but should be dragged from under the Altar, or from beneath the Throne : It is doing the Work of Mankind, since the Punishments of the Wicked are the Preservation of the Good.

The Queen was induced to order her Attorney General to prosecute the Duke for taking the Two and Half *per Cent.* deducted from the foreign Troops in her Pay, though he had taken it by vertue of her own Warrant dated in 1702, at the Beginning of the War. As for the Perquisites on the Bread and Bread-Waggon Contracts, it had served

served plentifully for Defamation ; but, it was found no other Use could be made of it against him.

The Attorney General did exhibit an Information against the Duke in the Court of Exchequer, to oblige him to account for the said Two and Half *per Cent.* to which his Grace gave in his Answer: And there the Matter rested. The Reason of which doubtless was, that it was found just and reasonable to give the new General, the Duke of *Ormond*, larger Gratifications for his Campaign, than the Duke of *Marlborough's* annual Allowances and Perquisites had amounted to for any of his ; notwithstanding our Minister knew before-hand, that he, (the Duke of *Ormond*) would have no real Occasion, nor so much as a Pretext for laying out a Penny in keeping secret Correspondence, and in getting Intelligence of the Enemies Motions and Designs. On the contrary, his Grace let himself be prevailed upon by that Minister to correspond secretly with, and give Intelligence to the Enemy : As will be shewn in the Course of these Papers, in its Place.

I will dismiss this Subject of the Duke of *Marlborough* with a Passage transcribed from Bishop *Burnet*.

‘ Secret Enquiries were made, in order to the
 ‘ laying more Load on the Duke of *Marlborough*;
 ‘ and to see whether Posts in the Army, or in the
 ‘ Guards, were sold by him ; but nothing could
 ‘ be found. He had suffer’d a Practice to go on,
 ‘ that had been begun in the late King’s Time,
 ‘ of letting Officers sell their Commissions ; but
 ‘ he had never taken any Part of the Price to
 ‘ himself. Few thought he had been so clear in
 ‘ that Matter ; for it was the only Thing, in
 ‘ which now his Enemies were confident that

‘ some Discoveries would have been made to his
 ‘ Prejudice; so that the Endeavours used to
 ‘ search into those Matters, producing nothing,
 ‘ raised the Reputation of his incorrupt Admini-
 ‘ stration more than all his Well-wishers could
 ‘ have expected. Thus happy does sometimes
 ‘ the Malice of an Enemy prove ! In this whole
 ‘ Transaction we saw a new Scene of Ingrati-
 ‘ tude, acted in a most imprudent Manner; when
 ‘ the Man, to whom the Nation owed more than
 ‘ it had ever done in any Age to any Subject, or
 ‘ perhaps to any Person whatsoever, was for some
 ‘ Months pursued with so much Malice. He bore
 ‘ it with Silence and Patience, with an Exterior
 ‘ that seemed always calm and cheerful; and,
 ‘ though he prepared a full Vindication of him-
 ‘ self; yet he delay’d publishing it, till the Na-
 ‘ tion should return to its Senses, and be capable
 ‘ of examining those Matters, in a more impartial
 ‘ Manner.

From the *Accused* I turn to the *Accuser*, only
 just to give the Reader a Brother-Minister’s Tes-
 timony of his Fitness, above all Men, to charge
 others with Avarice and Corruption. The Earl
 of *Oxford* wrote a Letter to the Queen the 9th
 of *June* 1714, in which he enclosed, *An Ac-*
count of publick Affairs from August the 8th,
1710, to June the 8th, 1714, an Extract of
 which follows.

‘ The first Meeting of the new Parliament was
 ‘ *November* the 27th, 1710. *Robert Harley* had
 ‘ prepared the Funds ready before the Parliament
 ‘ met (as he has done every Session to this Day,)
 ‘ not only for the current Service of the Year,
 ‘ both by Sea and Land, but also for easing the
 ‘ Nation of above Nine Millions of Debt. This
 ‘ was thought so chimerical when *Robert Harley*
 ‘ did

' did begin to open it, that it was treated with
 ' Ridicule, untill he shewed how practicable it
 ' was. It is true, this gave great Reputation
 ' Abroad, and enabled to treat advantageously of
 ' a Peace : It raised sinking Credit at Home, but
 ' at the same Time as it drew Envy upon *Harley*
 ' from some, and the Rage of others, so it gave
 ' Offence to some of his Fellow-Servants, who
 ' told him plainly that he ought to have told his
 ' Secret, and if he would not get Money himself,
 ' he ought to let his Friends Share a Hundred
 ' thousand Pounds, which would not have been
 ' felt or found out in so vast a Sum as Nine or
 ' Ten Millions.

' To this Principle was owing the setting on
 ' Foot at this Time the unhappy Voyage to *Ca-*
 ' *nada* : To all Meetings about which *Harley*
 ' avoided coming ; though he did not know the
 ' true Spring of that Voyage.

' The Beginning of *February 1710-11*, there
 ' began to be a Division amongst those called To-
 ' ries in the House, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*
 ' thought it convenient to be listing a separate
 ' Party for himself. To prevent this, Lord *Re-*
 ' *cheester* and *Harley* desired to have a Meeting, and
 ' to cool such rash Attempts ; and it was con-
 ' trived Mr. Secretary *St. John* should invite us
 ' to Dinner ; which was the last Time he ever
 ' invited *Robert Harley*, being now above three
 ' Years.

' The 4th of *June 1711*, three Days after
 ' *Harley* was sworn Treasurer, he was surprized
 ' with a Demand of *Twenty eight thousand thirty*
 ' *six Pounds and five Shillings*, for Arms and
 ' Merchandize said to be sent to *Canada*. When
 ' the Treasurer scrupled this, Mr. Secretary *St.*
 ' *John* and Mr. *Moor* came to him with much
 ' Passion upon this Affair ; and about a Fortnight

‘ after, the Secretary of State signed the Queen’s
 ‘ positive Pleasure to have that Money paid ; and
 ‘ accordingly her Majesty signed a Warrant *June*
 ‘ the 21st, and the Treasurer not being able then
 ‘ with all his Precaution, to discover further Light,
 ‘ the Money was paid *July* the 4th, 1711.

‘ Since the Return from that Expedition the
 ‘ *Secret is discovered*, and the Treasurer’s Suspi-
 ‘ cion justified, for the Publick was cheated of
 ‘ *above Twenty thousand Pounds*.

‘ There is Reason to be more particular upon
 ‘ this Head, because it is one of the Things never
 ‘ to be forgiven the Treasurer ; and Lord Chan-
 ‘ cellor had told him more to that Purpose,
 ‘ that they told him no Government was worth
 ‘ serving, that would let them make those
 ‘ Advantages, and get such Jobs.

‘ One Thing more is craved Leave to be added,
 ‘ that the Treasurer was forced to use all his Skill
 ‘ and Credit to keep the House of Commons from
 ‘ examining this Affair last Parliament.

I come now to speak again of the Lord *Godolphin*.

The Director of the *Examiner* had so much indulged his brutal Propensity to Defamation, that it became habitually Part of his Constitution, and he could no more restrain it, than he could subdue other more human and excusable Vices, which he had in common with other Men. What else but an ungovernable fell Malignity of Temper, could instigate him to insult over the Lord *Godolphin* when dead, and to pursue him even beyond the Grave, with Threats of exposing him in a worse Character than was yet known to the World, if any should dare to vindicate his good Name, and do Honour to his Memory, upon Points that he (this unconscionable Slanderer, who made no-
 thing

thing of sacrificing Truth to Falshood to serve his Ends) should not allow to be true.

Examiner, Sept. 25, 1712.

It hath been a very frequent Topick of Wit, among my Brother-Authors of the Whig Party, to couple honest Abel my Fellow-Labourer and me together; to look upon our Talents as much of a Size, and to find many Resemblances between us. This Jest has been so many hundred Times repeated, and still with Applause, that I begin to think there is something in it; and consequently that it is my Duty to vindicate wise Abel whenever I find him unjustly attacked. In the political Part of his Paper of the 13th Instant, the following Paragraph hath been very much censured by some of the Tories, and by all the Whigs, which I shall therefore here transcribe; and impartially consider how far Abel has rendered himself justly obnoxious by it.

St. Albans, Sept. 13. My Lord Godolphin being very much out of Order here, the News of the Conclusion of the Peace is kept from him; and we are in Pain, lest upon the Proclamation of the same, the Noise of Bells, &c. should add to his Dilemper.

Whoever was the Author of this weighty Paragraph, whether Abel himself, his Assistant in ordinary, or some ingenious Contributor, whereof he hath a great Number; it is plain, he did not apprehend, at that Time, that the Earl of Godolphin was so near his End, but only that he was much out of Order; which, for a Person of his Age, his Humour, his late Disappointments, and consequently Resentments, was nothing wonderful. The two most important Objections that could be justly raised against this Piece of Intelligence

ligence were : First, That the Conclusion of the Peace was not quite so near as Abel assured us ; and consequently, that his Lordship would have full Leisure either to Die, or Recover, before it could reach him. Secondly, That supposing the Bells of St. Alban's were so numerous and loud, as to be able to disturb a sick Person, upon so ungrateful an Occasion, as that of a Peace ; yet we ought to believe the Bells in that Town were under too good a Direction to give any Disgust in that Family, either to the Dying or the Living. There is no doubt, but that all Persons, in the Circumstances my Lord Godolphin was then under, ought to be treated with all Marks of Commiseration and Humanity : And had Abel expressed himself, that his Lordship was then dying, I should gladly have been one of the first to have flung a Stone at him. But when Men are absolutely dead, I am sometimes apt to demur, whether the Maxim we generally hear in every Body's Mouth, That we should speak well of the deceased, and let their Faults die with them, ought constantly to be observed ; for I am sure, if this Rule were universally followed, all Care among Men of leaving a good Name to Posterity, would be quite at an End ; and the Practice of the wisest Historians hath, with very good Reason, been directly opposite to this Negative Posthumous Flattery : Because it is the great End of their Labours to promote Virtue, and discourage Vice, by impartially producing the Examples of both. I must therefore deal so freely, as to assure the Panegyrists and Historiographers, who are retained by the other Party, that if they let themselves loose in the Praises of this deceased Lord, upon any Points where Truth is not of their Side, I shall take Leave to undeceive the World, with as great Freedom as if his Lordship were living.

Upon

Upon the Death of the Earl of Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond Sea: He went over in November 1712, and his Dutcheſs followed him the February after. The Director of the *Examiner*, ſtill agitated by the ſame unquiet Spirit, would not let this Friend of Godolphin's depart in Peace, but followed him with repeated Inſults: Of which it will be ſufficient to give this Specimen only.

Examiner, Nov. 13, 1712.

I bring my Countrymen Joy in one Hand, and Gladneſs in the other, upon the Departure of a Great General, and the Arrival of a good one [Ormond.] The firſt of theſe Occurrences gives Birth to more Speculations than I, who am obliged to be provident in the Article of Intelligence and Spy-Money, can either recount or comprehend. For I find we are not yet agreed in ſome of the prime Circumſtances of this Affair; as, whether the illaſtrious Pilgrim intends to call upon his old Relations beyond Sea? Who goes his principal Secretary, and who is appointed for his Book-Keeper? How ſoon his BAGGAGE will follow him? And where in all Likelihood will be the general Congreſs for the calling in of his bad Debts? In what Character his once tributary Princes deſign to meet him, and whether he has ſettled Remittances with the Engliſh Exchequer? For my part, tho' the Reſentments of a provoked People, and the Frowns of insulted Majeſty are of great Weight with me; yet as I have this Frailty in common with all other modern Writers, to look with Partiality upon a Field Hero; and becauſe I view his Highneſs at preſent in a very agreeable Light, whilſt he condeſcends to amuſe himſelf with foreign Sovereignty, in lieu of his late ſubſtantial Grandeur, I ſhall therefore treat him for the future as our very good Friend and Ally the Prince

of Mil—in, till certain *Advices* from Holland oblige me to alter my *Measures*.

Thus we have seen two Ministers charged with the highest Crimes, such as prolonging the War for their own private Lucre and to keep themselves in Power, refusing reasonable Terms of Peace when offered them, draining their own Country of its Blood and Treasure, and treacherously sacrificing its Interests to those of foreign States; and the Publick assured, that in due Time this Charge should be fully proved. The Persons accused, trust to their own Integrity and Faithfulness to the Queen and Kingdom in the Discharge of their Employments, stand firm in their own Defence, disdaining to truckle to their Accuser and his Party, who had both the Will and the Power to bring them to a publick Tryal had any one Part of the Accusation been true. But all this mighty Charge, and Threats of convicting them of it, dwindled at last into verbal Censures, and no Trial, for supposed Crimes, which the Reader will judge whether they were not clearly explained and justified to be none.

The *Examiner* was pleased to tell the People, that these Ministers would have been brought to an open Trial and punished according to their Demerits, had it not been for involving in their Accusation certain Persons whom it was thought advisable to spare. At the same Time he observed, that the *Examiner*, being conscious these two Ministers consulted with the Great Officers of the Crown and of the State, charged them promiscuously with the Ministry or the Junto. But the *Craftsman*, though he be equally conscious that the Man he has for several Years treated as the Prime, nay the sole Minister, does not only discharge diligently the Functions of his particular Employment, but acts with the principal

cipal Officers of the Constitution in the Counsels
 and Resolutions taken in all the great and ardu-
 ous Affairs of the Kingdom, yet he will not al-
 low him the Benefit of so much as a Junto ; he
 will make him accountable in his own Person,
 for all publick Transactions Abroad and at Home,
 that, in his Opinion, are done amiss. So then
 he has, it seems, upon Recollection, and better
 Forecast, contrived not to embarrass himself again
 with any Restrictions in Tenderness for others,
 but to accuse this Minister singly, and pursue him
 to his Ruine, without the least Reluctance or
 Remorse. And one would think the *Craftsman*,
 having but one Object of his Spite and Fury, should
 be always ready, on the shortest Notice, to pro-
 duce abundant Proof against him : But when
 those who seemed to have taken Counsel with,
 or Lessons from that Writer, have thrown out
 general Suggestions or Insinuations of this Mini-
 ster's Misconduct and evil Practices, he has re-
 peatedly desired that a Day might be appointed
 for his Adversaries to lay before the House any
 particular Charge, that he might be heard upon
 it in his own Defence, and then leave the Matter
 to the Equity and Candour of the House. But
 this has been constantly declined, upon this single
 Pretence in effect, that he is in Power and they
 are out. Which in my Apprehension is to say at
 best, that when they are strong enough to condemn
 him without Proof (when they have such a Major-
 ity on their Side as voted the Lord Viscount
Townshend an Enemy to his Country ; and that,
 through the Mismanagement of the Earl of *Go-*
dolphin Thirty five Millions had not been ac-
 counted for) they will vouchsafe to try him.
 But did not the *Examiner* charge the Duke of
Marlborough and Lord *Godolphin* as grossly and
 virulently as the *Craftsman* has the Person he calls

the Minister now ? Yet when he and his Friends became all-powerful, when no Man can doubt they would, if they could, have made out to the Full the very worst Things that Writer had charged upon them, how trivial were their Proceedings against them, how far short of what their imputed Crimes deserved, and the Publick had been taught to expect ?

I could have forgiven the Director of the *Examiner* all the wicked Craft he used to traduce and supplant the old Ministry, had it been done only to introduce and establish a new Sett of Ministers, though inferior to them in Abilities, yet of honest Intentions with Regard to the Publick. And this indeed, at their setting out, the *Examiner* took upon him to vouch for them; representing as no better than Idiots those who could doubt that the new Ministry, and the new Parliament, were not as well disposed as their Predecessors to support the Monarchy, the Succession, and the Constitution as they then stood settled by Law; to carry on the War with full as much Vigour, but with better Husbandry and better Judgment; and to proceed (as in making War so in making Peace) in perfect Union and Concert with the Allies. But in Truth, the Excess of Clamour raised against the Duke of *Marlborough*, to render him as black and odious as possible to the Vulgar, was a Part of the Grand Scheme the Director of the *Examiner* had engaged in; to accomplish which, it was also necessary to keep up that Ferment in the Clergy, Gentry and common People of the High Party, which *Sacheverel* had raised upon his reviving the Doctrines of hereditary indefeasible Right, and the absolute Obedience due to a Monarch holding the Crown by that Right; accordingly the *Examiner* was instructed to treat the Queen's Person, her Title and Authority

thority as Sacred, and to assert the Rights of *Her Crown* to the utmost Degree, upon a feigned Pretence that the Whigs had not sufficient Veneration, Reverence and Respect for her ; to charge the old Whig Ministry with taking to their Counsels, Republicans, Atheists, Freethinkers, Arians, Socinians, and all the Sectaries, in order to the carrying on some monstrous Design or other, destructive of the *British* Monarchy and established Church ; to inveigh against the Dissenters, and even the *French* Refugees, and to represent both as not deserving to be tolerated or protected ; to revile the greater Part of the Bishops then on the Bench, and to flatter and extol the inferior Clergy, especially their Proceedings in Convocation, *Atterbury* being Prolocutor ; to keep up Distinction and Variance between the Church and Landed Interest, and the Money and Trading Interest ; to misrepresent the Conduct of our Allies, and more especially to vilify the *Dutch*, chiefly with a View to that Part of the first Barrier Treaty which made them Guarantees of the Protestant Succession ; and to rail at or ridicule those who shewed any Concern and Apprehensions for that Succession, all the while the Pretender's Interests were visibly carrying on. And it must be owned the *Examiner* did (as he says) *very fully pursue* his Director's *Instructions* upon all these Heads.

Whoever will bear in Mind what Foundation the new Ministry set out upon, namely the private Insinuations to the Queen, *That she would reign out peaceably her own Life, but she need not concern herself for a German Family*, will see clearly what the avowed and bold or the oblique and crafty Negotiations, Proceedings in and out of Parliament, and Writings published under the Patronage and Direction of that Mini-

stry, directly tended to ; and these shall be traced in the Course of these Papers. I will anticipate upon them no further now, than to observe in general, that considering the then Weakness of *France* (the Pretender's Grand Support,) the Union and Weight of the Whig Party in *Great Britain* and in *Ireland*, the Disposition of much the greater Part of the Officers and of the common Men who had served or were left in the Army, and the Strength of the Forces of the Allies; the Scheme for setting aside the *Hanover* Succession could not without great Hazard have been attempted to be carried into Execution. An Attempt to bring in the Pretender, would probably have been made a common Cause, and *Great Britain* would have been the Cockpit of *Europe*. It was necessary therefore for the *Examiner* to make all Foreigners, without Discrimination, hateful to our People; to misrepresent and abuse the *Dutch* here at Home, while his Director deceived and betrayed them Abroad; while he treated our other Allies, particularly the Emperour, with Arrogance; disunited and disgusted them all by entering into a separate and shameful Union with *France*; industriously fomented Animosities among ourselves, kept open the Breach between Whig and Tory, (whom the *Craftsman* lately affected, for one single Turn only, to advise to be reconciled,) and fed the Papists and Jacobites with strong Hopes and Expectations, till the Time should come for opening the Scheme.

The proper Time for it, was a Point that from its Importance might well breed such a Debate, as could not be settled, between two Ministers who lived in mutual Suspicion and Dislike of each other. Our Director and his Brother-Minister had united to supplant and remove the old Ministry, but their
Agree-

Agreement, after they were once in Power, was very short-lived. Lord *Godolphin* was dismissed in *August* 1710, and the *February* following these new Ministers were so disjointed, that from that Time, as appears by Lord *Oxford's* Letter, they had such Aversion to each other that they would not so much as eat together. Indeed they differ'd too much in Temper, and perhaps in Sentiments, to have their Union hold long. The one was close subtle and wary by Nature, and consequently dilatory; the other was presumptuous and precipitate; not from an Excess of Resolution, but of Ambition to be deemed the single Manager, and to be rewarded as another *Monk* for another Restoration. The latter's Counsels prevailed with the Queen, and so the Conduct of the Whole fell under his own Direction. The Queen died presently after, too suddenly for him, or in other Words for the Pretender, who in his Manifesto of the 18th of *August* 1714, owns, *That the good Effects of the Princess his Sister's good Intentions towards him, were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable Death.*

I say, whoever, taking the *Examiner* for his Guide, tracks this Minister's Steps, must pronounce, that either he was working upon a Scheme to bring in the Pretender, or that all his Negotiations were the Silliest that ever wretched Politician blundered through. In one View they are all strong Sense, in the other stark Nonsense. Let this Minister's Ambition have been never so great (provided it had been consistent with the Settlement of the Crown, by Virtue of the Revolution, on the House of *Hanover*;) he might have gratified it to the full. But it was not to gratify such Ambition, that so much Falseness and Ingratitude were shewn to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*, his best and
greatest

greatest Friends, and to whose Favour he entirely owed his first Rise. It was not merely a Wantonness in Power that made him break through all Restraints of Honesty and Honour, to destroy the Grand Alliance, and to give up all the Advantages of a most glorious and successful War, by a Negotiation the most mean and dishonourable that was ever known. He might have gratified such Ambition, without sacrificing to it not only the Common Cause and Liberty of *Europe*, but the Interest and Honour of his own Country. Nature is seldom so degenerate in Men of good Parts and great Abilities, as to carry them to such Excesses out of Levity or Vanity: Some latent Cause must be lookt for, that can produce such terrible Effects. In this Case, one might, I think, be very certain, upon much less Evidence, that it could be nothing less than a Design to bring in the Pretender. Whoever has read the Extracts given from the *Examiner*, will find himself at a Loss to account for such prodigious Virulence, such monstrous Ingratitude to Men the best deserving of their Country, and his own kindest Friends, on any other Foot. I am, indeed, apt to think himself would take it ill, or at least have a very mean Opinion of those who are against him, if they should impute his wicked Conduct, which was a Contradiction to good Nature, Decency, and good Manners, to all Rules of Friendship, to Justice, Honour, and Good Faith both publick and private, to any other and lesser Cause than this: For I am persuaded, he had much rather be thought greatly wicked, than contemptibly weak; one of which must needs be the Character of a Man who pursues such Means as are to the last Degree foolish and absurd, if not intended to such an End. Not that this is a Matter of Conjecture only, as shall be shewn, when,

when, in the Course of these Papers, we come to resume it.

Happy for the World, if no more were to be said now on the Subject of his Negotiations : But as is amply stated and demonstrably proved by the anonymous Writer of an excellent Pamphlet not long since published, ‘ by Means of this Minister’s Negotiations, which terminated in the *Utrecht* Treaty, the grand Alliance was broken into Pieces, without leaving the least Shadow of Hopes of ever seeing so happy an Union again ; to the great Joy of the common Enemy, who plainly saw they had nothing to fear in Haste from a Confederacy that had been so formidable ; since every Part of it, except the Duke of *Savoy*, was, by the shameful Conduct of the *English* Ministry, disobliged to the last Degree ; but above all, the States General, who are our nearest, and best, and most natural Allies ; and the Emperor, without whom ’tis impossible for the other Powers of *Europe* to be a Match for the House of *Bourbon*, possessed as it is of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. It would be easy to shew, by the clearest Connection of Things one with another, that all the Inconveniences the Nation has felt since the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne ; all the Disputes we have had with *Spain*, and all the Evils our Trade has suffered from the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to that of *Seville*, are owing to the unhappy Situation in which that Treaty of *Utrecht* left the Affairs of *Europe* ; or, to speak more justly, put them.

Before I pass on from the *Examiner* to the *Craftsman*, I must do the former the Justice to take Notice of some of his Notions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and of the Liberty of the Subject. I shall also exhibit his Sentiments of the Liberty

Liberty of the Press; which the Reader will no sooner have perused, than he will be apt to pronounce, that if the *Craftsman* were to be tried by the *Examiner's* Positions and Rules, he would pass his Time very ill.

Examiner, April 5, 1711.

The Prerogative of a Sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the Rights of his People; if only for this Reason, because without a due Share of Power, he will not be able to protect them.

Examiner, Jan. 11, 1711.

All Posts in the Army, all Employments at Court, and many others, are (or ought to be) given and resumed at the meer Pleasure of the Prince; yet when I see a great Officer broke, a Change made in the Court, or the Ministry, and this under the most just and gracious Princess that ever reign'd, I must naturally conclude it is done upon prudent Considerations, and for some great Demerits in the Sufferers.

Examiner, May 4. 1713.

Liberty, the noblest Possession of Mankind, differs as much from Licentiousness, as Hypocrisy does from Religion. It is not an Exemption from Law, but a Certainty of Law: And any People, who are governed by certain Laws, agreed on in common, and prescribing the Bounds of every civil Action, not capable of being altered or repealed by the over-ruling Dictates of one or more Men, are truly free, not from those Laws, but by them.

As to the *Liberty of the Press*. The Writer of the *Medley*, in his Paper of May 7. 1711. took the Freedom, in speaking of the *Examiner*, to use these Words, viz.

‘ I have often wondred why he will not be persuaded once, for Curiosity-Sake, to write a Paper with some Truth in it, or at least some Probability. He that is a great Scholar, as any one may see by his Mottos, must needs know, that all the ancient Authors, who laid down the Rules of Writing, unanimously agree, that nothing of that Kind can ever please, or be of any Consequence, if it has not a Foundation of Truth.

‘ I will instance only in two common Topicks of Writing or Discourse, I mean those of *Praise* and *Censure*; which I chuse out of all the rest, because it only concerns the *Examiner* to be well instructed in them, he having no other Business but to flatter the New Ministry, and abuse the Old.

‘ In the first Place, whenever any Body would praise another, all he can say will have no Weight or Effect, if it be not true or probable. If therefore, for Example, my Friend should take it into his Head to commend a Man, *for having been an Instrument of great Good to a Nation*; when in Truth that very Person had brought that same Nation under great Difficulties, to say no more; such ill-chosen Flattery would be of no Use or Moment, nor add the least Credit to the Person so commended. Or if he should take that Occasion to revive any false and groundless Calumny upon other Men; such an Instance of *impotent but inveterate Malice* would make him still more vile and contemptible. The Reason of all which is, that what he said was neither just, proper, nor real; and therefore must needs want the Force of true Eloquence, which consists in nothing else but in well representing Things as they really
I are.

are. I therefore advise my Friend, before he praises any more of his Heroes, to learn the common Rules of Writing; and particularly to read over and over a certain Chapter in *Aristotle's* first Book of Rhetorick; where are given very proper and necessary Directions for praising a Man, who has done nothing that he ought to be praised for.

But the Ancients did not think it enough for Men to speak what was true or probable; they required further, that their Orators should be heartily in Earnest; and that they should have all those Motions and Affections in their own Minds, which they endeavour to raise in others. *He that thinks, says Cicero, to warm others with his Eloquence, must first be warm himself.* And *Quintilian* says, *We must first be affected ourselves, before we can move others.* This made *Pliny's* Panegyrick upon *Trajan* so well received by his Hearers, because every Body knew the wonderful Esteem and Affection which he had for the Person he commended. And therefore, when he concluded with a Prayer to *Jupiter*, that he would take Care of the Life and Safety of that great and good Man, which he said contained in it all other Blessings; tho' the Expression was so high, it passed very well with those that heard him, as being agreeable to the known Sentiments and Affection of the Speaker. Whereas if my Friend should be known to bear Ill-will to another Person, or to have an extreme bad Opinion of him, or to think him an Obstructor of those fine Measures he would bring about; and should yet, in one of his Panegyricks pray to God for the Continuance of that very Person's Life, as an invaluable Blessing; such a fullsome Piece of Insincerity

cerity would only expose him to Shame and Derision.

This drew from the Examiner the following Paper.

Examiner, May 17. 1711.

I have had for some Time a small Occasion for Quarreling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal Subject of Complaint, though I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a Height, as a Matter of that Nature can possibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high Time that an effectual Stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming Licentiousness of several Weekly Papers; which, for some Months past, have been chiefly employ'd in barefaced Scurrilities against those, who are in the greatest Trust and Favour with the Queen, with the first and last Letters of their Names frequently printed; or some Periphrasis describing their Station, or other Inuendo's, contrived too plain to be mistaken. The Consequence of which is, (and it is natural it should be so) that their long Impunity hath rendred them still more audacious.

At this Time I particularly intend a Paper called the Medley. It is the first Time I ever did myself the Honour to mention that admirable Paper: Nor could I imagine any Occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an Adversary. This Paper is Weekly published, and as appears by the Number, has been so for several Months. Last Week my Printer brought me that of May 7. Numb. 32. where there are two Paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to Mr. Harley; which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an Antagonist, I cannot let pass,

without failing in my Duty to the Publick : And if those in Power will suffer such Insinuations to pass with Impunity, they act without Precedent from any Age or Country of the World.

I desire to open this Matter, and leave the Whigs themselves to determine upon it. The House of Commons resolved, nemine contradicente, that the Speaker should congratulate Mr. Harley's Escape and Recovery in the Name of the House, upon his first Attendance on their Service. This is accordingly done; and the Speech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by Order of the House. The Author of the Medley takes this Speech to Task the very next Week after it is published; telling us, in the aforesaid Paper, That the Speaker's commending Mr. Harley for being an Instrument of great Good to the Nation, was ill-chosen Flattery; because Mr. Harley had brought the Nation under great Difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the Speaker tells Mr. Harley, that Providence has wonderfully preserved him from some unparallel'd Attempts (for that the Medley alludes to) he only receives a false and groundless Calumny upon other Men; which is an Instance of impotent, but inveterate Malice, that makes him [the Speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an Extract from his first Paragraph. In the next this Writer says, That the Speaker's praying to God for the Continuance of Mr. Harley's Life, as an invaluable Blessing, was a salsome Piece of Insincerity, which exposes him to Shame and Derision, because he is known to bear Ill-will to Mr. Harley, to have an extreme bad Opinion of him, and to think him an Obstructor of those fine Measures he would bring about.

I now appeal to the Whigs themselves, whether

a great Minister of State in high Favour with the Queen, and a Speaker of the House of Commons, was ever treated publickly after so extraordinary a Manner, in the most licentious Times? For this is not a clandestine Libel stolen into the World, but openly printed and sold, with the Bookseller's Name and Place of Abode at the Bottom. And the Juncture is admirable, when Mr. Harley is generally believed upon the very Point to be made an Earl, and promoted to the most important Station of the Kingdom: Nay the very Marks of Esteem he hath so lately received from the whole Representative Body of the People, are called ill-chosen Flattery, and a falsome Piece of Insincerity, exposing the Doners to Shame and Derision.

Does this intrepid Writer think he has sufficiently disguised the Matter, by that stale Artifice of altering the Story, and putting it as a supposed Case? Did any Man, who ever saw the congratulatory Speech, read either of those Paragraphs in the Medley, without interpreting them just as I have done? Will the Author declare upon his great Sincerity, that he never had any such Meaning? Is it enough, that a Jury at Westminster-Hall would, perhaps, not find him guilty of defaming the Speaker and Mr. Harley in that Paper? Which however I am much in doubt of too; and must think the Law very defective, if the Reputation of such Persons must lie at the Mercy of such Pens. I do not remember to have seen any Libel, supposed to be writ with Caution and double Meaning, in order to prevent Prosecution, delivered under so thin a Cover, or so unartificially made up as this; whether it were from an Apprehension of his Reader's Dulness, or an Effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very Phrases of the Speaker, and put them in a
different

different Character for fear they might pass unobserved, and to prevent all Possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old Evasion, and say, that I who make the Application, am chargeable with the Abuse : Let any Reader of either Party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting, as my Opinion, That for a Ministry to endure such open Calumny, without calling the Author to Account, is next to deserving it. And this is an Omission I venture to charge upon the present Ministry, who are too apt to despise little Things, which however have not always little Consequences.

Again, taking another Occasion, the *Examiner* says,

Examiner, Feb. 16, 1712-13.

I know very well, that the Persons employed in this filthy Work, are commonly Creatures of mean Intellectuals, and just as much Learning as may be gleaned up in a Pamphlet-Shop, only quickened and animated by Passion, Prejudice, Disgust, and imaginary Prospects ; but after boasting of their Atchievements, their Converts, Correspondents and Authority in Coffee-houses, shall they, when they come into a Court of Justice, be allowed to plead Non compos ? To say they had no Meaning ? Or, That the Names of the several great Men written at large in their Papers, because they are to be found in old History, are not to be understood of the Moderns ? Must all their Quotations, Scraps, Parallels, Fables, Cases, Tales, Letters and Ballads, pass for nothing ? Were they not easily understood by others, to the entire Satisfaction of the Author ? Is not common Consent, that imposes a Meaning upon all Words, the best Evidence in this Case ? Certainly, if there be such

a Crime as Libelling, our Moderation ought not to set us beyond a Possibility of detecting it. There are many Abbreviations in the Forms of the Law, less intelligible than those used in Pamphlets; and yet Judgment is given upon these according to common Acceptation. About the latter End of the Reign of King Charles the Second, when the Press swarmed with Libels, full of Virulence against the Court and Ministry; the Authors and Publishers of those Papers were taken up and prosecuted at Law: In one of which Cases, when the Counsel for the Defendants pleaded, That nothing was meant by K—g, D— of Y—k, &c. and that the Letters could not be applied to the King, and the Duke of York: The Lord Chief Justice Scroggs told them, That those Libels were very well understood in all Parts of the Kingdom; and it would be very hard, if the Judges and Court should be more stupid and senseless than every body else.

A Prosecution of this Nature would be to the entire Satisfaction of all those, who value the Rights of the Subject: For nothing tends more to the weakning and endangering of Liberty, than the gross and unwarrantable Abuse of it.

Again, upon the Queen's making a Speech to the Parliament, (Apr. 9. 1713) in which her Majesty was pleased to say, " I cannot but expressly
 " mention my Displeasure at the unparalleled Li-
 " centiousness in publishing seditious and scan-
 " dalous Libels: The Impunity such Practices
 " have met with, has encouraged the Blaspheming
 " every Thing sacred, and the propagating Opi-
 " nions tending to the Overthrow of all Reli-
 " gion and Government. Prosecutions have been
 " order'd; but it will require some new Law
 " to

“ to put a Stop to this growing Evil, and your
 “ best Endeavours, in your respective Stations,
 “ to discourage it. The impious Practice of
 “ Duelling requires some speedy and effectual
 “ Remedy. ” The *Examiner* descanted upon it
 in the following Terms.

By recommending a speedy and effectual Remedy for the impious Practice of Duelling, her Majesty ties up the Hands of a blood-thirsty Faction, and prevents our civil Discontent from rising to an open Rupture. By expressing her Displeasure at the unparallel'd Licentiousness in publishing seditious and scandalous Libels, she disarms the more secret, but not less fatal, Fury of the clandestine Murderer; sets a Mark of Infamy upon the Duel of the Quill: And when she complains of the Impunity of those who blaspheme every Thing sacred, and propagate Opinions tending to the Overtthrow of all Religion and Government; the honest Zeal of her august Senate receives a double Warmth, and is animated to vindicate the Injuries done to an indulgent State, to support the Honour of Christ and his Church, and rescue the God-like Name of Liberty from being prostituted, and made a Shelter for the most daring and hellish Impieties.

The grand Scheme of the Director of the *Examiner* being blasted by the unexpected Death of the Queen; let us proceed to state in a few Words what he did afterwards. He soon found, that an Enquiry would be made into his Ministerial Proceedings, and therefore conscious of his Guilt he fled his Country, and very naturally put himself avowedly into the Service of the Pretender, whom he had been so long secretly serving. Those Friends he left behind him, whom he had let in-
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to his Secret, could not bear the Disappointment of so hopeful a Project, which, had not Providence suddenly intervened, they were sure must have succeeded: They could not brook the *Hannover* Succession's taking Place so quietly: The Persuasion which they had entertained, and which the *Examiner* had over and over so much boasted of, that the Majority was of their Party, remain'd so strong upon them, that even after King *George* seem'd to be fast settled on the Throne, they concerted Measures for a Rebellion: To which they were doubtless greatly encouraged by their Correspondence with the fugitive Minister. Our vigilant and active Ministers at that Time, among them Sir *Robert Walpole*, happily got Intelligence of their Counsels and Schemes, and were so diligent in seizing some, and dispersing others of the Conspirators, particularly at *Oxford* and *Bath*, that they prevented the Rising projected in the West; and that in the North was suppress'd by the regular Troops. We are not to wonder therefore, if the Chiefs of that Party, and particularly the Gentleman who was then seized, but escap'd by breaking his Word with an Officer whose own Sense of Honour too easily dispos'd him to trust him, should be so implacable against Sir *Robert*, and so clamorous against regular Forces. Upon the Miscarriage of this Rebellion, our Adventurer thought it best to throw up his Employment under the Pretender, procur'd a Pardon from King *George*, and return'd to *England*; and upon that honest-hearted King's gracious Recommendation of him to the Parliament, obtained an Act enabling him to inherit that paternal Estate, from which he was cut off by his Attainder. Now what has he been doing since the Nation became blessed with his

Company again? Why he pretends the Ministry obstructed that more liberal and ample Extension of the Royal Beneficence which he had promised himself. And therefore truly, because he has not again been made a Minister, we are to understand that he has a Right to become again a Tr—t—r; for those Transitions are familiar and easy to him: So without the least Check of Gratitude or Conscience, he resolved to employ those mischievous Talents he is master of, to disturb that Family in the Possession of the Throne, (and if possible dispossess them) whose Succession to it he could not prevent. Accordingly, he has again exerted all his Force in plying incessantly that Engine the Press, which by Experience he found so powerful, when he was Master-Workman at it in the Queen's Time. The *Craftsman* treads in the *Examiner's* Steps; his View is to engage the Multitude; he flatters himself he grows daily nearer his old imagined Majority, and every body sees, that the Bulk of those he has already gain'd, are for that Cause which the *Examiner* wrote for. The Design being the same, he has pursued it hitherto by the very same Methods, by Calumnies, Misrepresentations, and false Pretences. He emboldens himself by seeing he is out of the Reach of the ordinary Forms of Law, and his Disciples shew their Disaffection the more openly every Day, the bolder they see him write. He has therefore, since the Majority of the new-chosen Parliament appears to be on the Side of the present Establishment and Administration, proceeded audaciously to tell the Multitude, that this Parliament is not a free Parliament fairly chosen, and consequently has no just Authority: In short, that our present Condition is no better than that of the *Roman* People, when *Tiberius* held them

them in Subjection by a corrupt and flavish Senate. This is such Treatment, as to use the *Examiner's* Words, *No Government in any Age or Country would ever endure.*

To conclude, The Director of the *Examiner* and of the *Craftsman* has always dealt in Abuse and Scandal against Ministers, who in different Reigns have stood in the Way of him and his Party. He carried his Point by it against one Ministry, so far as to procure an intire Change of it; which threatned the utter Ruine of the present happy Settlement: He was in his full Career, and in the most hopeful way of compassing this; when Providence on a sudden interposed to defeat his Designs; and nothing, humanly speaking, but such a Providence, could have done it; by which the Confusion he intended to bring upon his Country, recoiled upon himself; and he was forced to fly from the Nation he could not destroy. However, the Success he then had, has so far encouraged him, that in Spite of all Obligations to the Contrary, he returns to the Practice of the same bad Means, and hopes by correcting his former Oversights to succeed better now than he did then: All the same Methods of Virulence and Malice, of Calumny and Slander, are again put in Use; and by his long Continuance in those wicked Arts of sowing Faction and Sedition among the lower and less-discerning Part of the People, who are in all Countries by much the greatest, he flatters himself he has near run down this Ministry; and is now possessing the People with an Opinion that what he calls the Country Party, vastly exceeds in Number that of the Court; and have Strength enough to pull down the established Government and set up another. The Consequences of which Doctrine

nothing but the Parliament seems capable of preventing, by a vigorous Proceeding in the first Place against this grand Accuser of other Men, who himself is the greatest of all Criminals.

I leave others to dispute about the Liberty of the Press, and to make it consistent with the Safety of our other inestimable Liberties, which, as the *Examiner* rightly says, are preserved by being circumscribed by Laws: I freely own, that I find a great deal of Truth and good Sense in what this Minister directed the *Examiner* to write, and advised the Queen to speak often from the Throne, upon that Subject. In the mean while I cannot but think this Gentleman deserves to be proceeded against in a peculiar Manner, because his Case is peculiar and distinguishes him from other Writers.

The *British* Nation are disposed by a native Generosity and Humanity of Temper, to make great Allowance to a Man of any one Sett of Principles, who in writing for the Cause or Notion he espouses, may be carried, by an Excess of Heat and Zeal for it, beyond ordinary Bounds. But as for this Gentleman, who like *Catiline*, is *varius, subdolus, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator*, he has utterly disqualified himself from the least Claim to that Allowance: For first, while he was a Minister, and in that Station intrusted with the Honour and Interest of his Country, and the Security of the Protestant Succession, he made use of the Press, upon all the *Tory* Principles and Topics, to corrupt and seduce the Bulk of the Nation, to alienate them from that Succession, and to dispose and prepare them for the Reception of the Pretender. Next he went into the Pretender's Service, in Expectation the People he had corrupted, and

and the Friends he had engaged in that Cause, would succeed in the projected Rebellion. After that, perceiving he could neither promote that Cause nor satisfy his own Ambition, by staying longer Abroad, he pretended to renounce that Cause absolutely, and found Means to be recommended to King George as a sincere Convert, a real Object of Mercy. It was very generously granted him, if he himself may be believed, for he has declared in the *Craftsman* that he had previously done no Service for King George to merit his Pardon. Consequently he stood the more obliged to behave dutifully and quietly under the just Government of so gracious and good-natured a Prince. But it was not long before he returned to his old Trade of libelling, under the Pretext of propagating *Whig Principles and Tenets*. Now is this a Man to be indulged in that unlimited Use he makes of the Press? Certainly a Creature of so notoriously prostituted a Conscience, would have his Evidence rejected in any common Cause brought before a Court of Judicature. And shall such a one be permitted to go on to seduce the People again, and pervert them from their lawful Allegiance? Will our Parliament sit unmoved till a King, governing by the settled Laws, of which all his Subjects enjoy the full Benefit, without the least Cause of Complaint of Injustice or Oppression, shall, by the perpetual Calumnies of this Leader of a Faction, eternally abusing the Liberty of the Press, to misrepresent his Government, be insensibly deprived of his greatest Strength, the Affections of his People, and thereby rendered too weak effectually to support himself or them?

One cannot look back upon this Gentleman's Actions, without observing all along how dangerous

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ous he has been to all who have entertained Affection for him, or reposed Confidence in him, or shewn him Favour, or even Compassion.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had a personal Esteem and Kindness for him, and induced the Queen to confer upon him one of the most honourable Employments, that of Secretary at War. This was his first Step into the Court; and as soon as he had learnt the Map of it, he joyned with their Enemies to undermine and destroy them.

When Mr. *Harley* rose to high Power, he gratefully made him his Colleague in the Ministry: But in a few Months he began to set up for himself on a separate Interest, and he continued his Practices against him till at last he workt him out of the Ministry.

He boasts in the *Craftsman*, Numb. 255, that he was true and faithful to the Pretender while he was in his Service; and to put this beyond all Doubt, he affirms in the same Paper, that the Pardon granted to him by King *George* was *unask'd* and *unearn'd*. By what Magick then was it obtain'd? It was natural to suppose, that he had done some extraordinary Service, to induce the King to take so extraordinary a Step as the granting such an attainted Person his Life: But to remove this very probable Supposition (which might hurt his Credit with his old Friends, and his Fortunes with a future Master) he asserts the most improbable thing in the World, namely, that the King extended that Mercy to him without being so much as *ask'd*. As this was a secret Affair, and is by him improved from a Secret to an unintelligible Mystery, we shall not pretend to unfold it. But we cannot help carrying our Thoughts from
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one Case to another, and conjecturing from what was done openly in the one, what might be done secretly in the other. The being restored to a Right of inheriting an Estate, when it should fall to his Turn, is surely a Favour of less Moment and Value, than that of giving him his Life; and yet it is apparent, that this less Favour was both *ask'd* and *earn'd*. In April 1725. he petition'd the House of Commons to enable him to inherit that Estate which he had forfeited. And a Message from his Majesty, as is requisite on such Occasions, was deliver'd, *viz.*

‘ That the Petitioner had seven Years before made his humble *Application* and Submission to his Majesty, with Assurances of Duty, Allegiance and Fidelity, which his Majesty so far accepted as to give him Encouragement to hope for some future Marks of His Majesty’s Grace and Goodness; and that His Majesty is satisfied that his *Behaviour* has been such, as convinces his Majesty, that he is an Object of His Majesty’s Mercy.’

This Message was delivered by Sir *Robert Walpole*, who upon speaking in his Behalf with his usual Frankness of Heart, underwent great Contradiction from the Nation’s Friends and his own, who express’d their Misgivings and Presages of the ill Consequences of his charitable Offices for a Person so justly to be suspected. The Parliament complied with the good King, but not without setting a cautionary Mark upon the Man, not without expressly entring, in the Preamble to their Act, the Motive (implying, I think, the Condition) of their extending that Compassion to him: And to bind it upon him the stronger, they took the very Terms he himself had made use of in his Petition to them, which were, ‘ that he had in
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‘ most humble and dutiful Manner made his Submission to his Majesty, and given his Majesty the strongest Assurances of his inviolable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for his Majesty’s Service, and for the Support of the present happy Establishment, which his Majesty had been most graciously pleased to accept.’ They therefore introduce the Act in these Words:

Whereas he hath in most humble and dutiful Manner made his Submission to your Majesty, and given your Majesty the strongest Assurances of his inviolable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for your Majesty’s Service, and the Support of the present happy Establishment, which your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to accept; may it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, &c.

What followed upon this? Why the Craftman has ever since treated Sir Robert as the vilest of Ministers; and the Parliament as a most corrupt and slavish Crew. Nor has he been at all restrained from defaming the present King and Queen, by the Remembrance and Consideration (which would have affected any other Man) that it was his Majesty’s Royal Father, whose Clemency and Goodness towards him, so few Years ago, were such, that in the said Paper, N^o. 255, he himself declared, *He acknowledged that Clemency and Goodness, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible.*

As he owns the Debt, it is high Time to reckon with him.

F I N I S.

